# Daily Report

# East Europe

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Tuesday
5 October 1993

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*FBIS-EEU-93-191* *5 October 1993*

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## U.N. Security Council Extends UNPROFOR Mandate

*LD0510010993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 4 Oct 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, October 4 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council adopted unanimously on Monday [4 October] a resolution extending UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate for six months in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, i.e., the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.). The R.S.K. is a U.N.-Protected Area (UNPA) since spring of 1992.

The resolution, which was to have been on the agenda Tuesday but was abruptly put to the vote Monday, met nearly all the demands of Croatia, which made the extension of mandate conditional on these very demands.

The key point on which there was controversy last week, as Russia opposed it, was that the lifting of U.N. Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) was being linked to resolving the crisis between the R.S.K. and Croatia.

This point was incorporated despite the fact that the crisis in the R.S.K. was not mentioned at all in the resolution which in late may last year imposed sanctions against the F.R.Y. at the time, the Security Council introduced the sanctions, accusing the F.R.Y. for aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, although there were no Yugoslav Army troops in this former Yugoslav Republic, but its three constituent peoples—Serbs, Moslems and Croats—clashed.

Yugoslav Assistant Foreign Minister Nikola Cacinovic appealed Monday on the Security Council not to mention in any way the F.R.Y. in the resolution on extending the UNPROFOR mandate as this could be subject to abuse and have disastrous consequences.

In a statement to TANJUG, Cicanovic described the conditions of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman for extending the mandate as a call [passage indistinct] forth conditions which absolutely lacked justification.

Two foreign diplomats confirmed to TANJUG correspondent prior to the voting that Russia had changed its stand and was ready to vote for the resolution in its unaltered form.

Asked what brought about such an abrupt change of heart with the Russians, a foreign diplomat, who wished to remain anonymous, said this was no surprise.

The whole thing had been pre-arranged and the decision postponed only so as not to have the Serb issue affecting adversely Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his reckoning with the opposition and parliament. The Moscow rebellion, it appeared, was drawing to a close and this was the logical outcome, stressed the diplomat.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed on the territory of Croatia predominantly populated by Serbs, who refused to accede to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia and to reduction by the Croatian authorities of their status of a constituent people to one of a national minority.

Following the secessionist war in which the Croatian forces killed some 14,000 Serb civilians, the R.S.K. was declared a U.N.-Protected Area (UNPA) in 1992 and blue helmets deployed in it.

Although the R.S.K. is a UNPA, Croatia committed aggression on it on three separate occasions, most recently on September 9 this year. the Croatian Army razed to the ground 11 Serb villages and massacred more than 70 Serbs, mostly civilians in September 1993, while in January 1993—it killed some 1,000 Serbs, of which 800 were civilians.

## Macedonian President Addresses UN General Assembly

*AU0410130293 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 1 Oct 93 p 2*

[Speech by President Gligorov to the 48th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on 30 September: "Macedonia is Making a Great Contribution to Peace"]

[Text] Mr President, Mr Secretary General, esteemed delegates, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

My country, the Republic of Macedonia is, for the first time, taking part in the 48th session of the General Assembly as an independent state, ready to make its full contribution to strengthening international peace and promoting international cooperation.

The Republic of Macedonia is a country whose foreign policy is based on the principles of peace, friendship, and cooperation. In our view, the future of successful international cooperation lies in mutual interests and mutual respect. One of the most important elements of our foreign policy is the development of good neighborly relations and the incorporation of the principles of the new European architecture in the critical Balkans region. Such a foreign policy is also determined by the internal development of the Republic of Macedonia in the direction of the market economy, democracy, and the rule of law, with respect for human rights and harmonization of ethnic relations.

The Republic of Macedonia, in obtaining its independence in a peaceful and legitimate way, has safeguarded peace and contributed to preventing the intensification of the war to the south of the Balkans. With its overall efforts in the past two years, from being in the position of a "bone of contention" it has became a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Starting from all this, the Macedonian delegation at this session will strive for:

— strict respect for the UN Charter;
— support for all measures to strengthen international peace and security;
— democratization of international relations in all areas;
— the maximum promotion of human rights and liberties;
— the instigation and development of a policy of good neighborliness;
— the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and prohibition of their use:
— the reinforcement of preventive diplomacy in solving crises.

**Unsuitable Conditions—Worrying**

Mr President, the present unsuitable conditions in the world are worrying. We are not fully satisfied with the efforts and particularly not with the results of our organization in solving the present hotbeds of crisis.

We understand that a third world war is not a threat to the world and that it is not realistic to expect the use of nuclear arms. It is a fact, however, that the number of current and potential armed conflicts is increasing. The efforts our organization has made to bring about peaceful solutions have been enormous. Unfortunately, the results are not always effective, especially because of the lack of a broader application of preventive diplomatic measures and activities.

On this occasion I wish to underline the extraordinary significance of the historic agreement between Israel and the PLO for peace in the Middle East and for the development of relations in the world. All those who contributed to the signing of this agreement deserve high consideration.

In this context, I am sure that despite the difficulties, we shall soon talk about South Africa as of a region of fruitful development and human dignity. Let us hope that the forces of peace will finally prevail over the forces of backward apartheid.

Mr President, I have to point out that we are very worried by the continuation of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the threat of its spreading and broader destabilization in our region. As a country in the immediate vicinity, we see in it, with all seriousness, the threat of a Balkan war.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is extremely difficult, tragic, beyond comprehension. The greatest postwar drama is taking place in the heart of Europe: mass murder, mass destruction, more than 2 million refugees, crazy ethnic cleansings and genocide. Innumerable international conferences and activities have attempted to stop this war. The Security Council has passed a number of resolutions. Let us hope that peace will soon become reality in Bosnia.

The stopping of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the first and essential step. However, a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not possible without respect for and the protection of the elementary principles of international law, the UN Charter, and the CSCE principles:

—that borders cannot be changed by force;

—that the international community does not recognize and does not accept ethnic cleansing;

—that the rights of national minorities must be respected.

**Stronger Feeling of Security**

Not only there will be no conditions for a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina without them, but it will also represent a precedent instigating new conflicts. To recognize the use of force and military power as a means of territorial expansions and alterations means to increase the number of new present tensions especially in the ethnically mixed Balkans and in the countries of Eastern Europe. It means to recognize the possibility of interethnic wars.

We, as a state and nation, are interested in lasting peace and cooperation in the Balkans. In this spirit we are trying to achieve good neighborly relations with all our neighbors and we are endeavoring to find a solution of the current problems with our southern neighbor.

Because of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the implementation of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and the relapses into the, until recent times, bloc division, the Balkans today does not function on the national principles of a region. Economic and cultural relations have vitually come to a halt, as have the roads and the normal flow of people, goods, and ideas. It is a sad situation. In order to join the 21st century and the Europe of open borders and cooperation, the Balkans should thoroughly change itself. It is in the interest of all the nations and states in this region. That is why the Republic of Macedonia has chosen a policy of good neighborliness, the peaceful solution of problems, and development of overall economic, political, and cultural cooperation among the Balkan countries. We firmly believe that the international community will wholeheartedly assist these processes in the Balkans, in the interest of peace and stability. The CSCE principles and the processes in the European Community are the only alternative for peace, stability, and economic reconstruction in the Balkans. It means, however, that it is necessary to enable all the Balkan countries with a European option to be gradually included in the European Community.

**Stagnation of World Economy**

Mr President, we are all unsatisfied with the stagnation of the world economy this year, with the deterioration of the world economic situation, and the economic situation in some countries and regions. There is a growing number of unemployed, poor, and starving. The expectations that the developed countries would soon emerge from recession, as a precondition for having a greater

influence on the development of the developing and transition countries, have not come true.

Due to all this, and firmly assured that the period after the cold war must not become a period of economic conflicts, we can do much more to extricate ourselves from the present difficult economic and social situation in the world. In this connection, I am sure that the 48th session of the General Assembly will give a great stimulus for increasing the world's demands and the liberalization of world trade. For that reason it is very important to successfully conclude the negotiations of the GATT Uruguay Round, as called for by that group's Tokyo summit. Moreover, it is vital to solve the problem of the enormous debts and to provide special facilities for the developing and transition countries to be admitted to international financial markets. All these activities would be based on the position that only development can generate new development, and stagnation generates backwardness and poverty.

Mr President, the protection of human rights is justifiably acquiring an ever greater priority in the work of our organization. We are concerned because disrespect for human rights this year reached epidemic proportions. That is why we positively evaluate the Vienna Conference on Human Rights and the declaration and action program it adopted, and we hope it will represent a major contribution to stopping the current unfortunate development in this area.

The negotiations in Vienna clearly indicated that the present mechanisms for the implementation of the existing instruments for human rights are not effective and that great improvements are needed, particularly regarding the rights of members of national, ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities.

The adoption last year of the declaration on these minorities was an important step in this plan. The next step our delegation will strive for will be to make the conference on human rights decide to begin work on a convention on the rights of members of national, ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities, and recognize the need to create a UN high commission for minorities, situated in Geneva.

I would like to underline that the unsolved issues regarding national minorities might in the future give rise to war conflicts, especially in certain parts of the world, thus greatly endangering international peace. It is therefore of utmost importance to act in a preventive manner on this plan.

**International Assistance**

Mr President, the Republic of Macedonia is a European transit country without an outlet to the sea, a country in transition and in development. As a result, the economic situation in my country is very difficult. It is additionally complicated by the consequences of the war in the region and the enormous damage caused by the implementation of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. I would immediately like to underline that we are consistently doing our part in the implementation of these sanctions. As a result and consequence of doing this, this year alone, our national product has fallen to half its value. Foreign trade has declined, transport costs are enormous, and there has been other direct damage.

The Republic of Macedonia has a lively interest in the reinforcement of the United Nations, in every sense, in the period following the cold war. My country is among the countries that can only survive and prosper in conditions without wars, when the world's peace and security is not imperiled, when there are no obstacles and discrimination in international cooperation, when everybody can have a sense of human dignity.

In this sense the delegation of the Republic of Macedonia will contribute as best it can to the success of the 48th Session of the General Assembly and the reinforcement of the role of the United Nations.

## Berisha Reportedly Voices Support for Yeltsin

*AU0410133493 Tirana ATA in English 1309 GMT 4 Oct 93*

["President Berisha Condemns Moscow Coup Attempt and Voices Support for President Yeltsin"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 4 (ATA)—The bloody developments of the last two days in Moscow are the result of the attempted coup d'etat organized by Khasbulatov, Rutskoy and a mixed group of adventurers, who indended to repeat in the last decade of this century, the notorious October Revolution, which has gone down in the history of mankind as one of its most terrible events. The October Revolution opened the way to the establishment of the totalitarian communist system in Europe and throughout the world, which was based on oppression of the severest kind, persecution, collectivism, class struggle, terror and deceit which brought about the extermination of dozens, hundreds and millions of people, making this social-economic-political experiment the most tragic mankind has ever known.

Yesterday, Aleksandr Rutskoy ordered his supporters to occupy the municipality of Moscow and the Russian radio-television station, which they were finally successful in doing. Yesterday, the ghosts of the October Revolution caused the first victims on the streets of Moscow. This effort to repeat the October Revolution, after the failure of communism in Europe, is clear testimony to the fact that communism's remnants are still active and dangerous and that conservative communists have not abandoned their dream of taking power through violence. To them, violence as a means of overthrowing democracy is wholly legal.

There is no doubt that the reaction of President Yeltsin towards yesterday's coup d'etat in Moscow is a completely legitimate act aimed at restoring order and tranquillity and defending legitimacy and democracy. It will also serve as a discouraging example to the destructive forces of the extreme left wherever they may appear in Europe.

## Government To Provide Support for Shkoder

*AU0110174593 Tirana ATA in English 1304 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Tirana, October 1 (ATA)—In the government meeting of September 29, Premier Aleksander Meksi instructed his ministers to give special support and assistance to the Shkoder District in north-western Albania, bordering Montenegro. This is the first time that the Council of Ministers has taken a special interest in this district.

Analyzing the economic situation of Shkoder, the chairman of the District Council, Mr. Kazazi, told an ATA reporter that along with achievements which nobody can deny, the economic situation of Shkoder is lagging behind those of other districts such as Tirana, Durres, Fier, and Korce. Mr. Kazazi said that there are two principal problems in Shkoder. The first is the embargo which for a long time has closed the border with neighboring Montenegro. This has stopped the free movement of people and all road, water, and railway transportation. The observation of the embargo has created problems for Shkoder, which are not felt in other parts in Albania. Fortunately, the recent meeting of President Berisha with the Montenegrin President Bulatovic has created conditions for new types of cooperation. Secondly, industry in Shkoder inherited very obsolete technology, which produces articles of low quality at high cost, making it difficult to find markets. According to the chairman of the District Council, it will take hard work, continuous effort, and considerable financial resources to rectify the situation.

Asked by ATA regarding specific ways in which the government intends to support the Shkoder economy, Mr. Kazazi said that the District Council will present two programs of development to the government. The first calls for acceleration of the process of privatization, especially of small and medium enterprises, to prevent further deterioration of existing facilities. The second program is to encourage private productive activity. President Berisha himself, Mr. Kazazi said, has shown a special concern for these programs.

## Government Concerned Over Events in Russia

*AU0410170893 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Sofia, October 4 (BTA)—The government of the Republic of Bulgaria is following the developments in Russia with great concern, it is said in a declaration approved by the Bulgarian Government today which was received at BTA. It is unimportant who prompted the crisis of power. What matters is who was the first to resort to arms as it resulted in bloodshed with cries "for a revolution against the counter-revolution." History has condemned and rejected all of it. The democratic process has no alternative in Russia too, the Bulgarian Government's declaration goes.

At the moment Moscow has no other choice but to maintain order by dealing resolutely with all attempts to touch off a civil war, the document reads.

The Bulgarian Government expresses its hope that with a sense of responsibility for democratic Russia's future, Russian President Yeltsin will ensure the conditions necessary for the forthcoming holding of democratic and free general and presidential elections.

Whatever the outcome of the crisis in Russia, we will not have the democratic process in Bulgaria delayed or arrested, the Bulgarian Government stresses.

## Zhelev Views SDS, BSP Similarities

*AU0410151193 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 Sep 93 pp 1, 2*

["Unauthorized" interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Yuriy Aslanov; place and date not given: "President Zhelev: Bulgaria Is Crucified by Two Restoration Forces"]

[Text] [Aslanov] Mr. President, do you really think that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] represents the main threat to the democratic reforms?

[Zhelev] No, I do not think so. The country is in an absurd situation. There are two influential political forces, which are incorrectly described as poles. They actually are on the same side of the political spectrum. Ideologically, both were formed as typically restoration forces.

For the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] the ideal is Bulgaria of the 1930's—the Turnovo Constitution—which, albeit democratic for its time, indeed represents an outdated notion of the modern world, namely, the existence of a monarchist absolutism, which restricts the priority of the parliamentary democracy, as well as the existence of small and fragmented property and small-time enterprises, while the existence of a major and substantial capital is restricted.

For the BSP the ideal is Bulgaria at the time of the April Plenum.

It is absurd to view those formations as poles, because they strive toward the same thing.

[Aslanov] Do you not think that the issue of the eventual return to power of the BSP is artificially dramatized? The results of the elections in Poland are being presented as a possible Bulgarian problem. Perhaps nothing bad will happen in Poland or in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] The election results in Poland are another proof of the fact that we must think in a responsible manner about the fate of the country, and that our influential politicians must demonstrate a desire for and prudence in continuing the democratic reforms. I anticipated that this would happen in Poland, but of course, I did not imagine that the former Communists would win by such a margin, or that the leftist forces as a whole would obtain such a convincing parliamentary majority. I think that if the same thing happens in Bulgaria in the next elections, the situation in our country will be even more catastrophic.

Perhaps nothing bad will happen in Poland, but for Bulgaria this would be a catastrophe. The fact is that the Polish Communists never were like ours. In addition, the Communist Party there dissolved itself and apologized to the people. On the one hand, there is an awareness about the guilt related to the past, and on the other, no one doubts the direction of the reforms that the democratic forces began.

However, in Bulgaria the alternative to the BSP—the SDS—long ago ceased to be a convincing factor, as it could be in Poland for example, after a mandate of the leftist forces.

[Aslanov] Is it not an exaggeration to generalize in such a manner about the BSP and the SDS? Do you really think that the SDS and the BSP are what you said they are?

[Zhelev] Of course, one cannot generalize. However, I was thinking of the guiding lines in the policy of the SDS and the BSP, and the people that form their leaderships. It cannot be denied that both in the SDS and the BSP there are modern generations, people with modern democratic views. However, they have no influence over the behavior of their formations, and they are not allowed to join the leaderships.

[Aslanov] Do you think that a mechanism exists of the "Politburo" type?

[Zhelev] Precisely, and especially in the SDS, where the National Coordinating Council is a typical Politburo of the Stalinist type. This is not a legitimate organ. No one elected it or authorized it to resolve state issues of the legitimate institutions, behind which there are the votes of millions of voters. However, the National Coordinating Council constantly tries to effect ideological control and guide the behavior of its representatives in the government, and requires from them to subjugate themselves to a strict party discipline. Those processes are

invisible in the BSP, but no one should doubt the fact that the same situation exists there, despite the fact that everything is done in a more moderate manner.

Initially the BSP was created as the heir of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in order to sustain and preserve the party in its previous form. The SDS was established as an anticommunist force, and many people had the delusion that if the SDS is anticommunist it means that it is a democratic formation. At the beginning it really was a democratic force, until the democratic idea was distorted into a restoration notion.

[Aslanov] Then, how could we explain the fact that one month ago you suggested the idea of restoring the old parliamentary majority?

[Zhelev] Look, I will repeat. No democratic alternative to the BSP and the SDS was formed in the country. Most of the so-called ⸗ ntrists neither could nor deserve to be a mainstay of the progressive democratic tendencies. The manner in which they constantly quarrel proves that they are alien to the idea of national unity. Only the all-national cause could unite the democratic forces.

In the parliament there is the faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], which comprises some of the most capable politicians. There also is the New Alliance for Democracy. Despite the fact that this faction is not exactly what it claims to be, it nevertheless comprises many politicians of good quality. Their natural place is in the ranks of the democratic forces, as was the case in the last elections. They were expelled by military-discipline methods, with which the SDS National Coordinating Council tried to impose an ideological control over its representatives.

On the other hand, one could not stay idle and see the former Communists return to power. I think that precisely this will happen if nothing is done. This is what I had in mind when I launched the idea of restoring the old parliamentary majority. It also is important to respect the election results from the moral point of view, because the claim that the SDS did not win the elections does not correspond to the truth. The SDS won the elections and subsequently lost power because of its own stupidity.

[Aslanov] Your analysis of the situation within the SDS suggests that if the SDS returns to power it will repeat its mistakes.

[Zhelev] In principle, politics is the art of making compromises. The political dialogue in itself ennobles and cultivates democratic habits. In the SDS there are many figures who understand the necessity of negotiating with the DPS, the New Alliance for Democracy, and the extraparliamentarian democratic formations for achieving a unity in action on the issue of continuing the reforms and democratic transformations.

[Aslanov] The former coalition partners exchanged so many reproaches and overt attacks. Do you think that a dialogue between them is still possible?

[Zhelev] They would be stupid to exclude the possibility of conducting a dialogue. In addition, they strive toward new elections. They need a government supported by their own majority if they want to prepare properly for the elections. An own government before the elections is an advantage that cannot be underestimated. It is completely different when one participates in the elections as an opposition force. The defeat is very probable.

[Aslanov] Does it mean that by suggesting this you actually write off Berov's cabinet?

[Zhelev] I neither elect the cabinet nor topple it. I also do not have any ambitions for having great presidential power, as I have been accused of. I only express my thoughts on the possibility of overcoming the crisis through the only way of parliamentary procedures. This is so because the possibility in the parliament represents a dead end street and if this situation persists, we will have the same results as in Poland. However, I repeat: I think that after the next elections the situation in our country will be more catastrophic, because our situation is not analogous to that in Poland.

[Aslanov] In other words, you assess your idea of restoring the old parliamentary majority as a realistic one?

[Zhelev] I am not an optimist, because I do not see a possibility of conducting any normal dialogue with the current ossified opinions and leaders of the National Coordinating Council. However, in the parliament, and first of all in the parliamentary factions of the SDS, the DPS, and the New Alliance for Democracy, there is a potential of consolidating around the national priorities. In the final analysis it would be a pity for the very SDS leaders, who do not understand that by striving toward elections, which the BSP will win, they turn into dumb witnesses of their own perdition.

[Aslanov] Is this what you have in mind when you suggested a public discussion of the idea of restoring the old parliamentary majority?

[Zhelev] Not only this. I wanted to revive a discussion of this issue, because without knowing in advance what will happen in Poland, sufficient evidence accumulated in the recent months, and it shows that we are marching in this direction. More precisely, I wanted to warn about the danger of an antidemocratic turn in politics. I often address a similar warning in anything related to the issues of the agrarian reform.

[Aslanov] Do you really believe that if the BSP wins the elections it will restore communism? Do you believe in such a possibility?

[Zhelev] Communism of course will not be restored in its authentic form. The BSP does not want this at all. However, certain forces within the party are tempted by the idea to restore a part of the old elements. Look at what they are doing even before they assumed power. Their first concern was to restore the agrarian labor

collectives in their most primitive Stalinist variant. There already are more than 1,800 such collectives in the country and this is done on an absolutely unlawful principle, in an almost illegal manner. First they tried to amend the law, and afterward, the regulations. When they failed in both attempts, they advanced toward real action.

[Aslanov] Why do you not present all those considerations to the press?

[Zhelev] This is not the right moment. Anyway, what I say is viewed as a provocation or interference. However, I think that there is a sobering in the SDS ranks, and I believe that the outcome of the crisis will not include a dramatic conclusion.

Aslanov's note: For two weeks we negotiated with President Zhelev on an interview which would contain questions that logically spring from his idea on restoring the old parliamentary majority. In the meantime, the election results in Poland and the events in Russia turned the issue into an even more topical one.

An agreement was reached, but at the last moment the president presented arguments against any publication at the present. Prior to it, we discussed at length the problems of our political situation and the possibility of overcoming the crisis. We argued, but he constantly suggested that I write what he says, in order to prompt a discussion.

I could use a tape recorder at anytime, but I do not regret not having used it. Simultaneously, I assess the president's analysis with its accents and dimensions as very important and long-anticipated by the Bulgarian people. Therefore, I took the risk of aggravating the president and decided to publish the essence of our conversation, in which he presented his views on overcoming the political crisis in the country.

I also did this, because tomorrow it could be too late to publish those things.

I hope that he forgives me. If not, I hope that together with Mr. Bluskov [168 CHASA chief editor] they will resolve the issue as two presidents should.

## Aleksandrov Rejects Idea of Professional Army

*AU0410145993 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Sep 93 p 2*

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, by Mariyan Draganov; place and date not given: "There Will Always Be an Army in Bulgaria—the Question Is Whether It Will Be Our Army or a Foreign Army"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Draganov] Will the murder in the Academy affect the recruitment of young soldiers?

[Aleksandrov] They were already recruited, so the incident will hardly shock them too much. But violations occurring during guard duty deserve serious punishment and we must be pitiless. Generally, the morale of the corps has fallen for many reasons, but they should stop making statements that it is low wages that prevent them from carrying out their duties. I do not accept such an explanation! If necessary, let only those officers who are satisfied with their wages remain in the Army.

[Draganov] In other words, you are not far from the idea of forming a professional army?

[Aleksandrov] On the contrary! I totally reject the idea, because we cannot afford it in our financial situation. At present, 47 percent of our Army is professional. Some 47-48 percent of our military personnel consists of paid officers and sergeants. This is a huge percentage, which the present budget cannot sustain. Serious corrections must be made in this sphere, but this requires serious parliamentary support, so that there will be no claims that officers are being purged. It is absolutely impossible to maintain an army in which there are 22,000 officers, 27,000 sergeants, and 50,000 soldiers. There is no such army in the world. Obviously, serious corrections must be made. The criteria that will be applied must be specified, and the support of all political forces ensured. One cannot effect sharp and radical changes in the Army without a consensus. The politicians must clearly understand this. There will always be an army in Bulgaria. The question is whether it will be our own or a foreign army!

[Draganov] However, if you want to make cuts in Army personnel we could reach a situation analogous to the purge of the Red Army on the eve of World War II.

[Aleksandrov] No, do not use this well-known example. Things in Bulgaria are different! There is nothing you could explain to me against the background of the number of officers in proportion to the number of soldiers! In the German army there is one officer to 12 soldiers, and one could hardly claim that the German army is not combat ready. It is, and how! I saw them in action a few days ago.

[Draganov] Did you sign any treaty?

[Aleksandrov] We will sign a treaty in the spring of 1994, and there is cooperation in areas covered by the current Bulgarian-German agreement. The basic factor is their readiness to organize the training of national security personnel. They are prepared to do this at all levels, free of charge. However, because of the language barrier we cannot accept this. I cannot order the Army to learn German by Tuesday. This is an order that could not be carried out.

## Government Approves Council on Military Industry

*AU0110184293 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Sofia, October 1 (BTA)—The cabinet today approved at an extraordinary sitting a decree to set up an Interdepartment Council to address issues of the military-industrial complex and the nation's mobilization

capacity. This body with the Council of Ministers will replace the Operative Commission supervising manufacture and trade in military and special-purpose goods.

The Council will be led by a deputy prime minister and include deputy ministers of Industry, Defense, Finance, Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Trade, Transport and General Staff officers.

The Council will license trade in arms and special-purpose goods and coordinate marketing and pricing policies abroad. It will draw a programme to restructure the military-industrial complex to be discussed and approved by the government. The cabinet today did not discuss nominations for members and chairman, said a government press officer.

The government today heard a report on the visit to Komi, Russia, by a Bulgarian delegation, which had to decide a probable closure of Bulgarian timber enterprises. Those have been losing money for two years, as a result of the economic crisis in Russia and transport and legal difficulties. Both sides took the view that cooperation should go on after amending the accord signed in 1990. Russia heard the ideas of the Bulgarian delegation and took fifteen days to make a decision. Komi officials are expected to visit Bulgaria presently to finally settle the issue.

The cabinet again put off a decision on raising tobacco purchase prices. The ministers would like to ask written statements from the parliamentary groups before making a final decision.

## Democratic Party Leader Savov Pleads for Unity

*AU0410160693 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Sep 93 p 1, 4*

[Interview with Stefan Savov, chairman of the SDS Parliamentary Group, by Valeria Valeva; place and date not given: "The Unity of the Union of Democratic Forces Is the Only Chance for Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [Veleva] Mr. Savov, do you expect the victory of left-wing forces in Poland to have a serious impact on forthcoming events in Bulgaria? What conclusions are being drawn by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] from the Polish election results?

[Savov] The events in Poland have seriously affected democracy. We should not forget that Poland was the model followed by numerous other countries. The Polish elections are a great lesson for us. People should understand that those who abstain from voting are in fact casting their vote for the former Communists. Another fact which sounds like a warning for the SDS is that there was a great fragmentation of the parties, especially among the anticommunist forces, in Poland, which helped the left wing.

[Veleva] Do you think that the great sacrifice of social benefits, which was the price paid by the ordinary citizens in our country for democracy, will prompt them to reject the SDS at the forthcoming elections?

[Savov] If the elections are held in spring, as we expect, people should not forget that Bulgaria has been governed by a cabinet dominated by communists over the last year. Communists and ex-communists are responsible for the people's impoverishment, which is not necessarily a reason for people to become left-wing. I think that people will understand this fact.

[Veleva] How will the SDS resolve the problem of a coalition partner in the next elections?

[Savov] First of all, we should consider parties and movements that are likely to run on the same election ticket with us. This may be the Monarchists, the majority of whom voted for us in the last elections. However, 2.8 percent of them voted for two different monarchist organizations, which cost us at least a dozen parliamentary seats.

As far as a post-election coalition is concerned, this may be possible with Mrs. Mozer's Agrarians, who are likely to reach the percentage threshold in parliament. This is my wish and hope.

[Veleva] Would you describe Dr. Zhelev's idea for a new parliamentary majority as realistic?

[Savov] It is utopian in my view. It is an old idea of the president. Actually, he would like to have his own party, to have parliamentary support, which he does not possess, and under the current circumstances in our country, I do not see how he could obtain it. Dr. Zhelev bases himself on the notorious center.

Nevertheless, events in Bulgarian show that there will be no center in the forthcoming elections, just because the situation in our country is not normal. The existing confrontation between the two great forces—the former communists and all the others who support the market economy, liberalism, and democracy—is not likely to subside. The SDS represents a very broad spectrum and we shall take advantage of all its opportunities, namely from the Social Democrats to the neo-conservatives, to oppose the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

[Veleva] Do you see the SDS as a party or as a coalition in its future development?

[Savov] As a coalition of parties and movements. Hence, we should oppose all attempts to undermine the SDS's unity and to destroy the coalition. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] It is interesting to observe how cautious our politicians are in assessing the current events in Russia. Why is this?

[Savov] Yeltsin is victorious, for the time being, judging from the way events are developing. At the same time the communists in our country were almost unanimous in

expressing their negative view to Yeltsin. They repeated the mistake that they made at the time of the August coup. They will pay a high price for this mistake, which might greatly neutralize the effect of the left-wing victory in Poland.

[Veleva] In the event that Prof. Berov's cabinet should fall before next spring, do you think that parliament will survive?

[Savov] If Berov's cabinet should fall, it will be the turn of the BSP to form a government. However, the Socialists are not willing to rule for the time being, which explains their firm support for the cabinet. They will support it until the beginning of next year, often even to their own disadvantage. They will criticize and reshuffle the cabinet, but they will prolong its life as long as the constitutional situation allows it.

[Veleva] Are you ready to assume the power once again?

[Savov] No, by no means. We shall not form a cabinet within the present parliament. This is the decision of the National Coordinating Council and of our parliamentary group. We shall not form any new coalitions with our former partners or with our dissenters. This is the point on which we disagree with the president, Dr. Zhelev, who is trying to launch the idea. You could see for yourself how quickly it evaporated.

[Veleva] Have you permanently lost confidence in the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]?

[Savov] No, my confidence in the DPS as a movement, or in the Bulgarian Turks as a whole, has not been affected. I, and I think the same is true of numerous SDS members, have lost confidence in their leaders, such as Ahmed Dogan, Yunal Lyutfi, and Osman Oktay. As chairman of the Democratic Party, I can confirm that we have opposed racism throughout our history, but we have always categorically resisted national nihilism. I reject the attempts of "Turkifying" the Bulgarian Muslims, just as I was against the "Bulgarization" of Turks. [passage omitted]

## SDS Two-Day Theoretical Conference Ends

*AU0310190893 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Oct 93*

[Text] The two-day theoretical conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] ended. At 134 Rakovski Street [SDS headquarters], the participants in the conference are presently giving a news conference. Our reporter Antoaneta Kuncheva reports:

[Kuncheva] The second day of the conference was dedicated to specific issues. They included reform and practice in culture, science, and education, agriculture, health protection, and many other issues presented by SDS leaders and a team of scientists. The useful elements will be adopted and used to update the SDS election program.

Ivan Kostov stressed the basic topics that were discussed today. They included the identification of SDS formations that support the middle class. Aleksandur Bozhkov talked about a turning to the left on the part of a large part of the population as a result of the impoverishment of said people. He also pointed out that the SDS must note this change in the people's way of thinking.

The government's mistakes, the dishonest mixture in the functions of various government institutions, and the role of trade unions were other themes that were discussed at the SDS theoretical conference. Svetoslav Luchnikov presented a report that he called a powerful attack against the banal proposals of the SDS program.

According to the conference preliminary program a report was to be read on relations between the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. The report was dropped from the agenda. It remained unclear whether this was done because of its contents or because many people in the SDS already do not see the DPS as a future partner.

If I might summarize briefly the SDS leaders' opinion of the forum, I would say that they are satisfied with the constructive spirit and successful attempt to ignore personal conflicts and work in a pragmatic manner for the future of the SDS.

## Commentary Looks Back on SDS Coalition

*AU0110112793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Sep 93 p 6*

[Commentary by Ivaylo Kutov: "Real Rules of Game"]

[Text] The new stage of the comprehensive social and economic deterioration, which has clearly emerged on the Bulgarian horizon, will not forgive those who would not envisage the appropriate political reactions and activities. The result of the Polish elections is the most recent example of the crisis of the specific East European consciousness, which has been clouded and deprived of self-confidence by the difficulties. The situation in our country, which often is presented in a manipulated form, is not much different. The sociological forecasts and certain by-elections in sparsely populated areas indicate that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] holds the advantage. However, this advantage is to a certain extent relative, because this "modern leftist party" has also suffered a drop in its supporters. Its current advantage vis-a-vis the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] mostly stems from two lasting causes, related to the inadequate solving of organizational and structural problems within the blue [SDS] coalition from the very start, and the way it has functioned in society since its foundation on 7 December 1989.

Even during the period of spontaneous romanticism (at least in Sofia and the major cities), the SDS leadership was already demonstrating a total immaturity (if not something else) in selecting the intellectual foundations of the movement. Some people remember not only the first

perestroyka slogans about democratic socialism, but also that in many of its proposals and decisions the Bulgarian Communist Party, which was governing the country at the time, was often ahead of the SDS. Thus the situation emerged that, while on 14 December 1989 from the terrace of the Student Club Mr. Zhelev spoke of a "real restructuring," within one or two months the Communists were able to overcome their initial confusion. The SDS did not offer anything about its strategic intentions, did not produce a moral-political criticism of the existing situation, and did not outline its plans. Its supporters had difficulties in understanding slowly where they were being led, and at least at the beginning were being rallied on the sole basis of their hatred of the past and rumors about the crimes of the red nomenklatura.

The lack of intellectual foundations, coordinated with the still misunderstood desires of the masses, predetermined the establishment of a weak and inactive organizational structure before the first elections.

Instead of competently and responsibly establishing a system of selecting activists during the first elections and afterward, the SDS not only closed itself off from new ideas and organizational or political proposals, but also conducted its campaign in an inappropriate manner. Holding rallies was the almost its exclusive activity.

The subsequent development of the SDS—until 13 October 1991 and indeed until today—has shown that no lessons were learned. Despite its great intellectual and sociopolitical potential the blue coalition allowed its self-destruction by intrigues and internal contradictions. Instead of being able to transfer the contradictions and quarrels to the other camp and oppose its separate centers by economic, political, and foreign relations arguments, the SDS even allowed formations with obviously non-Communist supporters, to compel their leaderships to gravitate now like satellites around the party of the former Communists.

The inability to destroy the economic system on which the BSP is based and attract a part of the special services on the basis of their specific interest goes back to the time when Zhelyu Zhelev led the SDS. The SDS leadership was unable to erode the red party from within, and fell into the trap that the red agents prepared.

Of course, it has now been justly established that launching Zhelyu Zhelev as president was one of the crasser mistakes. It is a fact that even then the SDS was unable to analyze the situation precisely. First, the SDS was unable to grasp the hypocritical and deceptive character of the behavior of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP] at that stage. On the other hand, the issue of the great number of intriguers at SDS headquarters was not addressed. It is well-known that it was those intriguers, who, without much ado, but with the support of the secret services, prepared the toppling of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet.

There are many other issues, and these will probably become the subject of a serious analysis at the coming SDS theoretical conference. These include the failure to specify the "mafia" concept and provoke infighting within that mafia, rather than isolating the cabinet from the entire issue, and the existence of many daily newspapers that manipulate public opinion, often without any reference to the real circumstances.

Regardless of how abstract and trivial it might sound, the SDS must be preserved in the interest of democracy.

The blue coalition has a great moral and human potential. The imminent grave economic difficulties could again turn it into the dominating political force in a natural manner. It is extremely necessary from now on to act with sufficient political skill and bring about disintegration in the camp of the basic opponent—the BSP.

## Court Rejects Former Prime Minister's Appeal

*AU0110204693 Sofia BTA in English 1924 GMT 1 Oct 93*

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 1 (BTA)—The Criminal Division of the Supreme Court today denied an appeal by former Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov to suspend his imprisonment sentence, BTA learnt from Supreme Court Chairman Ivan Grigorov. Mr. Atanasov, who held office from 1986 to February 1990, was sentenced to ten years in prison for the embezzlement of 210,000 leva. Grigor Stoichkov and Lyubomir Shinderov, sentenced each to two years in prison in the "Chernobyl Case," won their appeals.

At a press conference today Justice Minister Petur Kornazhev said he would not tolerate discredited officers in the Ministry. "Without legislation on the judiciary and police or amendments to the Penal Code we can only talk of crime and not effectively combat it," Mr. Kornazhev said.

Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, today held talks with the visiting director of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid For Poland and Hungary] programme Alan Mayhew. They focused on the initialing of the agreement on Bulgaria's association with the EC and the coordination of the PHARE programme, dwelling on prospects to set up a fund to assist Bulgarian farming.

Parliament today discussed the report of an ad hoc Commission on Development in Mountainous Areas, assigned on February 7, 1992. Highlands, which make up 60 per cent of Bulgaria's territory, have a population of about 2.5 million (30 per cent of the nation). In his report, the commission's leader Petur Markov discussed business projects, employment (joblessness tops 20 per cent), health care, education, transport and communications. Mr. Markov moved to pass an act to improve life in the highlands, urging the government to draft a

programme to address the population's gravest problems. The M.P.'s are expected to make a decision on the report next week.

Today saw the announcement of the awards at the 49th International Fair which opened in Plovdiv, this country's second largest city, in Southern Bulgaria, on Monday. 31 Foreign and 29 Bulgarian producers receive prizes. One fifth of gold medals and diplomas are given to private businesses. Officials today also reported the findings of a survey of foreign expositors. 49 per cent expressed willingness to invest in Bulgaria. The poll and opinions of Trade Ministry experts show that interest in privatization in Bulgaria is tending down. Foreigners prefer more independent forms of investment, such private and joint-stock businesses, according to Deputy Trade Minister Stanimir Burzashki. He however said he did not believe the findings of such surveys to be certain and expected expert comment.

The International Conference on Bulgaria and the European Community, organized by the Center for European Studies assisted by the PHARE programme continued today. A discussion was held on the problems and prospects of the opening up of the Bulgarian economy. [passage omitted]

Neither proportional representation nor the majority system are of great importance for the final results of parliamentary elections, the key factor for election success is to have a lasting alliance of political forces, said Marian Orlikowski, first secretary of the Polish Embassy, at a press conference on the Polish elections today. He named as a likely Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, leader of the Polish Peasants' Party.

Any professional journalist union in the Balkans, whose statutes and programme comply with the statutes and programme of the Balkan Confederation of Journalists, can join the confederation, said a BTA correspondent in Salonika, the host city to the statutory congress of that organization. This formula was suggested by Bulgaria, represented by delegations of the Podkrepa Union of Bulgarian Journalists, led by the Union's President Boyan Daskalov, and of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists (SBZ), led by its Secretary Blagomir Sirakov. Speaking on behalf of the two delegations, Petko Bocharov, chairman of the SBZ Supervisory Board, assured the delegates that Bulgarian journalists are wiling to work for understanding among Balkan journalists in the name of the proper place of Balkan nations in unified Europe.

## Havel: 'No Direct Threat' From Events in Russia

*LD0410185593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] President of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel gave his opinion this afternoon on the critical situation in Russia.

[Begin Havel recording] It is, above all, a struggle for democracy and it appears that the last few steps on the part of the parliament's representatives have somehow revealed who, in fact, they are and who they represent.

First, they have demonstrated that they do not abhor violence and bloodshed. Second, it has become clear what forces support them and what forces they represent. It is, obviously, a colorful spectrum of the most conservative forces in Russia ranging from various friends of old regimes to chauvinists and nationalists for whom violence is evidently the main and most popular means of political struggle. It appears that the events show that it is truly the struggle of democracy with some kind of residues of communism and that it is one of the subsequent phases of a very complicated transformation process in Russia.

What took place in our country over a period of several days or weeks has been taking place there in stages for several years. One must express sorrow over the fact that so many human lives had to pay for this confrontation of the old with the new.

I do not think that these events—should they end in whatever way, even if they end badly, although everything indicates so far that they will end in favor of President Yeltsin—will endanger in any immediate way the transformation processes in our country or that they pose any immediate threat. It is clear, though, that [if the events end badly] this would significantly destabilize the situation worldwide, especially the security situation in Europe, since the conservative forces are clearly aggressive—they have certain, I would call them, imperial ambitions. That is clear already today. This would certainly dampen the international situation and, of course, it would indirectly affect us as well.

In my opinion, though, there is no direct threat. [end recording]

## Klaus: No Threat

*LD0410122593 Prague CTK in English 1211 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (CTK)—There is no need to dramatise the situation in the Czech Republic in connection with the developments in Russia, [President] Klaus told Czech television today, adding that cabinet members are keeping in touch with each other.

The Czech Republic was unlikely to suffer consequences from the developments in Russia, Klaus said, adding that according to the reports the unrest in Moscow had been localised and there was no threat of wider destabilisation.

Klaus said that he would receive Russian ambassador to the Czech Republic Aleksandr Lebedev today and hear his update on the Russian scene.

It is clear that Russia needs definite reforms to prevent this sort of situation from repeating itself, Klaus said, adding that the Czech Government believes that it is the group of people close to Yeltsin who safeguard the reforms in Russia.

## Baudys on Moscow Events

*LD0410191593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys gave an interview to Czech Radio today [4 October] about the situation in Russia. Jana Hrbkova reports:

[Hrbkova] According to Defense Minister Baudys, the situation in Russia has reached the point where it is no longer possible to achieve a consensus. What matters at present is that President Boris Yeltsin ends the conflict as soon as possible and democratic forces are heard once again in Russia. According to Baudys, unless the situation is stabilized soon, and if the conflict turns into a civil war, security throughout Europe will be threatened. Baudys went on to express the conviction that the situation in Russia had not yet reached such a point and recalled the assurances given by Russian Defense Minister Grachev when he visited, together with President Yeltsin, the Czech Republic. Grachev assured Baudys that the Russian Army fully supported President Yeltsin and that he was personally in full control of the situation.

The personal assessment from Defense Minister Baudys is that though the Russian Army has carried out certain redeployment, it is staying out of this conflict. The defense minister considers this to be a very important signal.

Answering a question by Czech Radio whether the defense minister ordered specific measures from the Czech Army in reaction to the crisis situation in Russia, Antonin Baudys said:

[Begin Baudys recording] There was no need to take any steps. I would not consider the current situation in Russia, or what may develop in the next few days, to be so acute as to force us to react in other ways, besides the already mentioned around the clock monitoring of the situation. However, I have to explain that we use it [monitoring] whenever something happens, even in the case of much less dramatic events. [end recording]

### Interior Ministry Monitoring Situation

*LD0410171393 Prague CTK in English 1622 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (CTK)—The conflict in Russia has not affected to date the security situation in the Czech Republic, Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych told CTK today.

He added that the ministry and the police are attentitvely following and monitoring the situation in Russia.

Since September 22 a special crisis group has been active at the ministry. It is collecting and analysing around the clock information on the security situation, supplied by the police, the Interior Ministry and the Security Inforamtion Serivce (BIS), Fendrych pointed out.

The monitoring of the country's internal security focuses on the protection of the state border, organised crime, situation in refugee camps, protection of diplomatic missions and public order, he said.

The crisis group has only registered a slight increase in the number of citizens from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) crossing legally the Czech border, Fendrych added.

### Russian Envoy Explains Yeltsin Letter on NATO

*LD0410184593 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (CTK)—The Russian Embassy in Prague does not have the official reading of the letter to NATO in which Russian President Boris Yeltsin allegedly expressed reservations about the admission of post-communist states to NATO, Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Lebedev told Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today.

Speaking to journalists after his meeting with Lebedev, Klaus told journalists that the embassy had only received information from an unnamed high-ranking official from the Russian Foreign Ministry which indicates somewhat different interpretation of the letter disclosed last week.

According to the information, Yeltsin's letter confirmed the Russian stand announced by Yeltsin during his visits to Warsaw and Prague at the end of August, Klaus said.

Yeltsin then said that Russia would not hamper Poland's and the Czech Republic's entry into NATO.

Yeltsin's letter rather expresses concern about Russia's isolation after the post-communist countries' eventual admission to NATO, Klaus said referring to the interpretation of the letter by the Russian Foreign Ministry's representative. This interpretation has a certain internal logic, Klaus added.

Lebedev assured Klaus that Russia was not forgetting about his visit to Moscow, scheduled to take place in October, Klaus said.

But he added that he did not think that his visit would be the most important thing which the Russian party should address at the moment.

### Klaus Dismisses Meciar Reparation Claims

*LD0410220593 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (CTK)—As long as Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar takes Slovakia to be the legal successor of the wartime fascist Slovak state, he should bring his financial demands to those he takes to be the legal successor to Hitler's Germany, stated Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus to CTK today.

He was responding to Meciar's claims on Sunday that the Czech side owes Slovakia eight billion Swiss francs (over 5.3 billion USD) for unatterded claims Slovakia has towards Germany from World War II. This claim is in addition to unsolved problems concerning federal property such as the balance of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, amounting to about 25 billion crowns (over 800 million USD), and Slovak gold.

Even if I dismiss how illogical the request is for compensation of claims which arose when the fascist Slovak state was a satellite of Nazi Germany and they were fighting against the allies, I then refuse the legal and financial reasoning upon which this absurd request is based, declared Klaus.

He added that Czechoslovkia never received any compensation for damages which it suffered in World War II.

In order to solve the remaining questions connected with the separation of the federation and to maintain good relations between the two states, it was vital that both parties behaved rationally, Klaus pointed out.

Yesterday's statements by Premier Meciar...do not belong to rational statements which would contribute to finding solutions to questions which are still open, insisted Klaus.

The Czech Ministry of Finance made its stance official today in the same matter by declaring that claims for reparation, i.e., claims towards Germany for war damages, arose exclusively on the territory of the Czech Republic and not within the borders of present-day Slovakia.

The ministry's press secretary, Ludmila Nutilova, further stated that after the war, Czechoslovakia, applied for the above reparations from Germany, and also for non-reparation claims. Neither the Czech Republic nor the former Czechoslovakia received any compensation from Germany. Therefore, the Czech Republic could not compensate Slovakia.

One Czech non-reparation claim involved payment relations between the Nazi protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (represented by the National Bank) and the Germany of the day, the Third Reich, (represented by the Reichsbank), Nutilova said.

Payment relations between the fascist Slovak state and the German Reich were carried out similarly, albeit independently. With this in mind, Meciar's statements were not justified in any way, she said.

### Klaus on Difficulties With Privatization

*LD0110193393 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Prague, Sept 30 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus believes that difficulties with the confirmation of Czech citizenship could be the only possible reason to postpone the time limit set for implementing coupon privatisation.

After the meeting with Czech Minister for the Administration of National Property and its Privatisation Jiri Skalicky and Chairman of the National Property Fund Tomas Jezek today, Klaus told journalists that the difficulties connected with the confirmation of Czech citizenship constituted a considerable problem which ought to be solved to assure that no one was deprived of the possibility to participate in privatisation. (According to the regulations, citizens of the Czech Republic who want to take part in the second wave of coupon privatisation should have their identification card marked with a special stamp to verify their Czech citizenship - Ed.)

Klaus said that a meeting of the ministers of the interior and finance was convened on Friday to find the ways of solving the problem and its funding. Money received from the sale of coupon stamps could be one of probable sources to finance the action, he added.

Klaus confirmed that about 145 billion crowns (5 billion USD) worth of state-owned property will be put to coupon privatisation in its second wave. He said that a preliminary round will be carried out in December, after registration of the coupon booklets of individual holders and investment privatisation funds is completed (by the middle of November), to be followed in two or three weeks by the first round.

### Havel Gives Speech on Anniversary of Munich Pact

*AU0110112993 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] Prague Sep 29 (CTK)—Munich 1938 was a great failure of democracy in Europe and showed how treacherous the politics of appeasing evil is and how suicidal the idea is that compromises with an aggressor can secure peace, said Czech President Vaclav Havel this evening in a television address marking the 55th anniversary of the Munich Pact.

Havel stressed the fact that for Europe today it is important to realise that the attempt to avoid sacrifices by the politics of appeasement is the most certain way to make an infinitely greater number of sacrifices necessary later.

Under the Munich Pact, France and Great Britain ceded Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland to Hitler in exchange for a guarantee against further aggression by Germany. The agreement was also, Havel said, the failure of an intergovernmental system of collective security, and that therefore it is important now to devote maximum attention and care to the building of firm security ties on our continent.

The president also analysed the period of the so-called Second Republic which immediately followed the acceptance of the consequences of the Munich Pact. It was a time of growing disillusionment, frustration and later even demoralisation, he said. It was a time of the victory of the worst that lay sleeping in the soul of our society... a time of defeatism, national egotism, narrow-mindedness..., he said.

During the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by the Nazis and immediately after the war, the Munich trauma escalated our ability to accept communist totality without great opposition and the giving up of illusions that after western democracy had disappointed us, our future had to be tied with a tendency towards Stalinist totalitarianism, Havel said.

The reason for Munich was the ever more brutal advance of escalating and blind nationalism... of Hitler's Third Reich, but certain national elements present in our pre-war democracy, namely its inconsistency in building Czechoslovakia as a state of all its citizens, also played a role, he said.

In conclusion, Havel pointed out the necessity of remembering Munich, as well as the services of those who opposed both Nazism and communism and who upheld the continuity of truth, courage and responsibility, and thanks to whom today we need not start the great work of national revival from zero.

### Kocarnik Comments on IMF Annual Meeting

*AU0510122193 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Oct 93 p 5*

[Interview with Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik by Jana Smidova and Petr Dudek in Washington on 30 October: "Russia Will Pay Us Some of the Interest, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik says"]

[Text] Czech Republic Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, who attended the IMF and World Bank annual meeting in Washington, granted an interview to LIDOVE NOVINY special correspondents.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What is the most important accomplishment that you will bring back to Prague from Washington?

[Kocarnik] The most tangible gain must be the promise by the Russian finance minister that Russia will pay all, or at least some of, the interest it owes us—perhaps by wheat deliveries. It would be a sign that we can tackle the debt problems that exist between us and Russia.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What kind of response have you encountered here in Washington to the progress so far of the economic reform in the Czech Republic?

[Kocarnik] The people who are familiar with developments in the Czech Republic praise our economic results. We are considered in the IMF to be the country with the least problems. In the latest ranking of countries, we are 40th in the world, and first among the countries undergoing transition. I have to admit, however, that not so much has been published about us as before.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Could this waning interest be to our disadvantage?

[Kocarnik] The erosion of interest is not really that serious. The investors decide according to several criteria, and one of the most important is political stability.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do the World Bank and the IMF see any of the Czech Republic macroeconomic indicators as being particlarly favorable?

[Kocarnik] They consider our macroeconomic stability to be the most significant factor. This was also highly praised at the session of the provisional committee of our "Brussels" group.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What do we want from the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], with whose president—Mr. de Larosiere—you also met?

[Kocarnik] We need credit support for market-adapted institutions like an insurance guarantee company or a commercial bank, support for exports, and—as we have always asked—the support should go not only to government projects, but also to private enterprises.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] On 27 September, we saw, here in Washington, another expression of discord within GATT. How does this altercation affect the economy of postcommunist countries like the Czech Republic?

[Kocarnik] That is one of the things for which we reproach the advanced economies. They advise us how to liberalize everything as part of the transformation, and as soon as we do it, they introduce protectionist measures against our exports. I spoke about it here in Washington and the present bank heads agreed with me. Of course, this affects us tremendously, because if the markets are closed to us, our economic growth will be slower.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] On whose side is the Czech Republic in the dispute between the European Community and the United States?

[Kocarnik] Unequivocally on the side of liberalization, i.e., the United States. The problem is that the European Community is not a homogeneous entity. Great Britain, for instance, holds a position close to ours, while France stands somewhere else.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Did you express dissatisfaction with the economic protectionism also in your talks with the U.S. members?

[Kocarnik] Yes, but I did not speak about U.S. import policy. It was a general complaint, and it was understood as such.

## Many Weapons Reportedly Smuggled to FRG

*AU3009164093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Sep 93 pp 1, 4*

[Report by Jan Cech: "Weapons Are Much Easier To Smuggle Than Cigarettes"]

[Text] Plzen—Large amounts of weapons are ferried illegally across the Czech-German border, but only a few cases are uncovered. This information comes from the Land Criminal Office in Munich. Not only hand guns and munitions are smuggled from the Czech Republic to the FRG, but plastic explosives and military weapons, such as automatic weapons and hand grenades, are also smuggled.

The clandestine weapons trade is, according to police officers, even easier than smuggling cigarettes, because the weapons can be better concealed. Often, it is only by mere chance that weapons are discovered.

German police officers claim that the number of dealers in the FRG who arrange arms supplies from the countries of the former East Bloc for interested states and organizations in West Europe is increasing. Apart from this, there is a clandestine trade involving people who, posing as tourists, purchase individual firearms in the Czech Republic and take them to Germany where they are resold.

In Germany, there is currently a great deal of interest in weapons from Eastern Europe. Many Germans are either fascinated by weapons or they feel they must protect themselves better. For other people, the issue involves a auxiliary means of income, because pistols purchased cheaply can be resold at a profit. Despite the tighter controls, smugglers mostly go uncaught. According to reports from the Customs Office in the border town of Weiden—which is visited by many Czechs—during the first seven months of this year, no more than seven pistols, one shotgun, and 360 rounds of ammunition were seized.

Around 10,000 weapons are now seized in Germany every year and incomparably more go undetected.

Therefore, within the framework of their campaign against the illegal supplies of weapons from the Czech Republic to the FRG, German police officers have begun to pose as dealers, which—apparently—the Czech middlemen consider to be "particularly unfair."

The German newspaper BAYERWALD RUNDSCHAU has carried several reports from police sources on clandestine arms deals. In 1991, a certain German wanted to sell to customers in Bavaria 700 Russian-made Kalashnikov submachine guns from sources originating in the former Czechoslovakia. In Oberfalz, another two Germans wanted to arrange the sale of a larger number of weapons from an unnamed arms plant in the former CSFR to Yugoslavia. The deal only fell through because the dealers were unable to provide the appropriate financial guarantees. In 1992, a Czech citizen sold pistols illegally in Bavaria and promised his customer more. When he handed them over, the police intervened. They also arrested his girlfriend who had a Skorpion submachine gun and 50 rounds of ammunition on her. Another two Czechs were caught by officials from the Munich-based Land Criminal Office while handing over 50 kilograms of Semtex.

## Export of Detonators to Croatia Examined

*AU0510123393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Oct 93 p 1*

["li"-signed report: "UN Did Not Like Czech Detonators in Croatia"]

[Text] Prague—So far, when checking whether the conditions for the export of military material have been satisfied, the Ministry of Industry and Trade has depended to a great extent on the whim of the inspected companies. The bill that is currently being drafted aims to reinforce the inspection powers of the state in the sphere of the arms trade.

According to the head of the Special [military] Material Section at the Ministry of Industry, Bretislav Gregr, the inadequacy of the existing powers was demonstrated this month, for instance, by the inquiry into exports of mining detonators to Croatia. The inquiry was requested by the UN Sanctions Committee that oversees the observance of the arms embargo against countries of the former Yugoslavia.

"The embargo was not broken. It was a permissible delivery of detonators designed explicitly for quarry and mining explosive work. The detonators operate as specified. Usage of them for other purposes cannot be completely ruled out, but we have not received the slightest hint that this is actually happening," Gregr told MLADA FRONTA DNES.

## Klaus: Intelligence Services To Have 'Wings Clipped'

*AU0410190993 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 93 p 2*

["(go)"-signed report: "The Czech Republic's Intelligence Services With 'Clipped Wings'"]

[Text] Kolodeje—The Czech intelligence services should have their "wings clipped." Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said this on Wednesday [29 September] in response to a question from RUDE PRAVO. He described the statement made by Interior Ministry Spokesman Subert that, at the moment, Czech intelligence does not have any agents or a network of agents anywhere as "fair." Klaus added that our intelligence services have to be the services of a small state, which should have a look "in their own backyard" and not worry about what is happening on the other side of the globe. As he said, he was thus repeating the view he expressed during the recent debate on intelligence service issues. According to Klaus, commentators in some neighboring countries have deduced from this that he was announcing that our intelligence services are operating in these countries. "Nothing of the kind has crossed our mind," declared the prime minister.

## Report Outlines Anti-Drug Program for 1994

*AU0410171093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Sep 93 p 2*

[Report by "(iv)": "The Campaign Against Drugs Will Be More Expensive Next Year"]

[Text] Prague—Some 138.5 million korunas [Kc] will, evidently, be allocated from next year's state budget for the campaign against drugs. This is apparent from a report submitted to parliament by the Commission for Drug-Related Issues.

This year alone drugs will cost an estimated Kc93 million; Kc76 million will come from the state budget. At least Kc1.5 million is being spent on prevention, which is a mere 1.6 percent of the total.

It is also clear from the report that expenditure in this area is expected to increase to Kc45.5 million next year. The negative consequences of the drug trade are increasing every year. In 1992, 123.3 kg of heroin; 4.7 kg of cocaine, 9.9 kg of marijuana; and other drugs were seized in the CSFR. On the black market at that time a marijuana cigarette cost 30 korunas; one gram of hashish cost 450-500 korunas; one gram of pervitin cost 1,000-1,500 korunas; one gram of cocaine cost 2,000 korunas; and one LSD [lysergic acid diethylamide] capsule cost 200-500 korunas.

According to official findings, during the years 1991-92, 1,723 Czech citizens took narcotics; of this number, three took heroin; 860 took marijuana and hashish; and 428 took hallucinogens (especially LSD).

The anti-drug program is based on acquiring essential information on the drugs market; this also involves cooperating with foreign institutions. One of the main aims of this program is to prevent money made from drugs penetrating into the legal economy. The government is also considering increasing the size of the special anti-drug units in the police force and the Customs Administration. The increasing gravity of the drugs problem should also be reflected in the amendment to the Criminal Code, for example, by expanding it to include acts making cultivating drugs a criminal offense. Cultivating drugs for personal use, however, should remain free of penalty.

### Zeman Outlines Current CSSD Policy

*AU0110113693 Prague CTK in English 1645 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] In an interview with CTK and Czech Radio, Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] Chairman Milos Zeman appealed to the government of Premier Vaclav Klaus to considerably lower taxes so as to motivate, above all, the activity of small and medium-sized businesses which are currently on the brink of bankruptcy.

In the present transitional phase of the economy, it is impossible to increase budget revenues through setting up the highest possible tax level, because this undermines the motivations of entrepreneurs, Zeman told CTK.

He said the Czech Social Democratic Party was going to run in the next parliamentary elections with a promise to lower taxes in the fields where it would secure the growth of economic efficiency and investment. Zeman spoke in favour of establishing a special office to prevent tax evasion.

He said that, according to some estimates, the government was currently losing about 60 billion crowns (2 billion USD) due to tax evasion, including some 6 billion crowns (200 million USD) in illegal trade with cigarettes.

The CSSD, which associates about 25,000 members, currently ranks second in public opinion polls following the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS). After 40 years during which its activity was banned, the party is now seeking, though without success, to renew cooperation with Czech trade unions. Given the experiences of European social democrats, the CSSD believes such cooperation to be of key importance for its election success. Zeman said, however, that the CSSD was ready to hold negotiations with individual unions and seek their selective support if its talks with the Czech Trade Union Confederation fail.

He said the CSSD, if it won the next election or participated in a coalition government, would see to it that employees of bankrupt enterprises would have the preferential right to buy their companies on a long-term installment plan.

The United States' experiences show that firms which were on the brink of bankruptcy could be successfully managed by employees who buy them for a comparatively low market price, Zeman said.

We will try to prevent the shares of bankrupt enterprises from being snapped up for low prices by dummies of foreign companies because we are not interested in foreign capital holding power over all Czech enterprises, Zeman said.

Zeman said he was not afraid that the protection of the domestic market from foreign capital would lead to the lowering of interest in investing in the Czech lands, Moravia and Silesia. Foreign investors, on the contrary, are discouraged by the current unclear situation in ownership relations, Zeman said.

### Industry Minister Signs Agreement With Iran

*LD0410104793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy has ended a three-day official visit to Iran. During his trip he signed a trade agreement between the Czech Republic and Iran which replaces the previous agreements. Minister Dlouhy was accompanied by a group of Czech businessmen.

In Tehran, Dlouhy met First Vice President Hasan Habibi and the ministers of heavy industries, commerce, and energy.

Dlouhy attended the opening of the 19th Tehran Fair, where a number of Czech manufacturing and trading companies are exhibiting. Dlouhy departed from Tehran for a one day visit of Turkey.

### President Kovac Assesses Moscow Situation

*LD0410212893 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] President of the Slovak Republic Michal Kovac has spoken today about the complicated situation in Russia:

[Begin Kovac recording] It is with great anxiety, that we are following the situation in Moscow, just as the rest of the democratic world is.

In the beginning one has to say that during our first statement we unequivocally stood behind the democratic forces headed by President Boris Yeltsin.

Now that the anti-democratic forces have directly asked the peaceful citizens to tackle the situation by force the development has reached a new stage. We condemn those politicians who appeal to peaceful citizens to use violence. We stand firmly on the side of the democratic forces headed by Boris Yeltsin. We are deeply convinced that the victory of democracy in Russia is in the interest of Russian citizens.

The Russian citizens have been through many sorrows and at last they have the great chance to embark firmly on the path of democratic development.

We believe that common sense prevails, that Russian citizens stand up on the side of democracy and that the forces of democracy in Russia win. [end recording]

### Moravcik Assesses Moscow Events, Supports Yeltsin

*LD0410211993 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] New York, Oct 4 (CTK)—Slovakia does not yet have any reasons to consider any threat from Russia, Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik told CTK today.

If the situation further worsened, it could affect adversely economic relations between Slovakia and Russia. Slovakia's dependence on Russian oil was still very big, he said.

Moravcik, in New York to attend the U.N. General Assembly, said that Slovakia supported Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his effort to create conditions for furthering democracy in the country.

Moravcik said he firmly believed that Russia would soon succeed in establishing normal conditions for the development of democracy.

### Army, NATO Open Cooperation Talks

*AU0410173893 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Sep 93 p 2*

[TA SR report: "Talks With NATO"]

[Text] Bratislava— Three days of talks between representatives of the Slovak Republic Armed Forces and a delegation of NATO and SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe) opened in Bratislava yesterday. According to information provided by General Claesen, head of the NATO and SHAPE delegation, during the talks the two sides will agree upon the range of issues to be dealt with later. The current staff talks should thus lay the foundations for specific future cooperation. Major General Jan Pancik, who heads the Slovak delegation, said that "the Slovak Ministry of Defense, in cooperation with the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has already drafted a project for the Slovak Republic's purposeful and systematic drawing closer to NATO." In his opinion, the coordinated efforts of all four member states of the Visegrad Group and their eventual admission into NATO should contribute to stabilization and reinforcement of security in Central Europe.

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 1 October on page 2 carries a 50-word TA SR report stating that the NATO and SHAPE delegation's stay in Slovakia continued on 30 September with a visit to the Slovak Army's Trencin headquarters, where the delegation was received by Slovak Army Commander Lieutenant General Julius Humaj.]

### Moravcik on Visegrad Group's NATO Application

*LD0410223493 Prague CTK in English 2210 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] New York, Oct 4 (CTK)—Western representatives do not seem to be much surprised by the recent letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin in which he allegedly objected to the admission of four central European countries to NATO, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik told CTK today.

Moravcik, attending the U.N. general Assembly in New York, today met with U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, and representatives of the U.S. State Department and of West European countries.

He also met with U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. They discussed Slovakia's participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations.

Moravcik said he thought that western officials viewed Yeltsin's statements that he would not be opposed to the entry of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia into NATO, made at the end of August, with great hesitation. It is generally known that Yeltsin's own foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, has always been against the countries' NATO memberhsip, Moravcik added.

He said he believed that the four central European countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia—should cooperate in the sphere of defence. He justified his view also by the fact that the USA as well as European states tended to perceive central Europe as one unit.

On Tuesday, Moravcik leaves for Mexico where he will discuss not only political relations, but all feasible forms of economic cooperaiton which, he said, did not correspond to the two countries' potential.

## Meciar Interviewed on Coalition Government, Scandal

*LD0110232093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Michal Berko; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Berko] In an interview for the Swiss newspaper WELTWOCHE President Michal Kovac conceded that there is a chance that you might be in power after the new year, even though the budget will be only a provisional one and you yourself will head a minority Cabinet. Let's return to a practical question now. Is it really true that the issue of forming a coalition government is merely a theoretical one? In other words, is there any justification for the views that early elections are the only way out from the present situation?

[Meciar] Although I respect the president and his views, my way of seeing the situation is different. There are so many ways in which matters could develop and thus everything really boils down to talks. Making conclusions before talks have actually been held could be rather inaccurate, I think. And so, I cannot rule out a coalition government or other forms of stabilizing the political situation in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Using the government to generate a litical crisis poses a danger of destabiliztion. What will happen next? Does someone think that we shall perhaps be pushed into a corner and that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will give up? Does someone think that the HZDS will relinquish its mission so that it can accommodate chairmen of other political groups? Does someone think that the electorate, which entrusted their mandate to us—and we did not fail their trust—has changed their attitude? No, I do not think that to be the case. [passage omitted]

[Berko] The affair around the embezzlement of millions arising from a commercial transaction will also enter into Slovak history. It is alleged that some members of your cabinet are also involved. [passage omitted] Can you clarify the whole affair?

[Meciar] Paradoxically, I have asked today that members of government should be treated with at least the same consideration as criminals. The full name of an alleged criminal is not released until he is legally sentenced. He is innocent until proved guilty. The government members in question were described as lawbreakers on the basis of an anonymous fax. [passage omitted]

I would like to comment on two aspects of this business. There are two separate issues: First, there is no Indiagate. Money which was contractually supposed to accrue on the account of the National Bank of Slovakia has been accruing monthly since April. The last payment was made on 6 August 1993. The amount which was supposed to be deposited in the bank has been deposited there. I will execute a more detailed control after the return of both the members of the government.

Second, the matter concerning sugar is the subject of an investigation by a commission which I appointed yesterday. Its aim is to determine not whether manipulation ocurred but whether interests were breached and laws broken. It all happened under the former minister [of the econony] Cernak. His party has asked for a parliamentary investigation but I think it would be better if they dealt with it as an internal party matter without dragging into it the whole government. In any case, I will inform the public about the result when I have all the documents from the controlling bodies. I do not suppose anything will happen here.

There may have been another possibility at play here. It may have been a clever intelligence game which produced something artificially, which was then taken up by somebody acting on his own initiative only to embarrass the Slovak Government abroad. Both the representatives, the governor of the bank and the minister of finance were attending an extremely important meeting of financial experts from all over the world. To send them off the way they were sent off represents a conscious attempt to damage the economic interests of this state. [passage omitted]

These scandals must not be repeated. The government must and will react.

[Berko]] Prime minister, thank you for the interview.

[Meciar] Thank you.

## Meciar Discusses Meeting With IMF, World Bank

*LD0310235893 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1815 GMT 3 Oct 93*

[Regular Sunday TV address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava on 3 October—live or recorded]

[Text] Meciar] Good evening, esteemed fellow citizens.

Two events of the last week, which were the most significant events for the internal life of the republic, took place outside republic's borders. These were the important meetings within the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank [WBRD] at which the delegation of the Slovak Government and the National Bank of Slovakia took part. The importance of these talks is underlined by Slovakia's striving to gain access to credits.

In spite of everything that is written here at home, in spite of what the economic advisers of the opposition parties say, in spite of the numerous commentaries and news, the experts from both the IMF and the WBRD are reluctant to accept the standpoints presented by those I mentioned. The IMF and WBRD experts maintain that the Slovak Republic develops well and that it is very close to ranking second among the post-communist countries and even to getting ahead of Poland and Hungary.

Well, we would like to send our experts, who are of different opinion, to the IMF and WBRD. However, it would be probably useless, since they would send them back to us. Hence, these experts will continue to insist on something different. They will continue to insist that black is white and the circle is a square.

The talks held with these institutions, the conclusions of these talks, the very positive assessment of Slovakia, trust in Slovakia, and the very positive appreciation of the economic reform in Slovakia is important to us since already today we are launching activities for 1994. The important thing is not to halt the economic decline only after it has reached rock bottom but to lay foundations for activities that would bring future profits. We need money for that. A lot of money.

If the funds needed are difficult to obtain internally, if the chance of obtaining them from the Fund of National Property is low, if the scarce funds available in companies are not used effectively, it is important that we open for ourselves the doors to foreign countries. We have succeeded to make this steps at the talks with the IMF and the WBRD.

An assessment of the activity of the National Bank of Slovakia will be carried out shortly. We hope that it will be successful and positive and that in the international financial and business world it will change attitude towards Slovakia. [passage omitted]

A very unpleasant thing happened at the time of the IMF and WBRD talks in Washington.

On the eve of the talks it was said that two Slovak cabinet members embezzled 22 million dollars. [Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka and Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth were accused by Slovak daily 'Sme' of embezzling 22 million dollars from a sugar deal with India] This is a huge sum of money and there is no doubt that people will not be indifferent to this issue. You yourselves were not indifferent either. Some of you heard the news with indignation, some with mistrust and I personally with utmost exasperation.

An anonymous fax report dispatched from Austria speaking about the alleged embezzlement arrived on Friday [24 September]. This happened precisely on the eve of the IMF and the WBRD talks attended by these two representatives. It discredited their positions and these two ministers personally. Can we afford to harm the interest of the state in this manner? [passage omitted]

How can someone produce a lie of this kind about the cabinet members? How can someone smear one's own state and its representatives? Is it not a disgrace for the entire journalistic community? Has time not arrived to start differentiating between serious, less serious and gutter press? Has time not arrived to protect, as a part of our freedom, the right, freedom and honor of a man, a cabinet member?

We shall, naturally, respond. We are already taking relevant measures. [passage omitted]

I guess that another sensation will appear in the not too distant future. First of all, it was Meciar in Spisska Nova Ves who, in fact, advocated the Romanies' cause. The latest development were the doubts voiced before the Washington talks, the doubts voiced precisely at the time when those concerned were unable to defend themselves. What is going to happen next? Next time, there will have to be a valid law, a respect for man and a respect for the law, end of part two [passage omitted]

Another important mission of the church is in the area of charity. The state does not renounce its responsibility for the social welfare of the citizens. Likewise, the state does not renounce the responsibility for the provision of help to those who depend on it. [passage omitted]

We believe that this act of historic justice [restitution of church property] is at the same time a basis from which other activities beneficial to the society will develop.

The time limit was an extensively discussed issue. Why did we go before February 1948? I would like to respond to this.

As far as the Jewish religious community was concerned we declared that Slovakia had never been a state for which racist hatred would be inherent. Slovakia has come and continues to come to terms with the past which was forced upon it. That is why we considered it inevitable to deal with the injustice done to the religious community. I am talking about a religious community, beginning with the time when the injustice started. Fascism did not arrive in Slovakia on 14 March 1939 but on 2 November 1938 when, after the Vienna Accord, the Hungarian Army occupied Slovakia, when Horthy's men, now celebrating not far away, arrived here and unjustifiably took and occupied a part of the territory of Southern Slovakia. This was a tragedy for all people who lived there, both Slovaks and Hungarians. We go back to this date to remember these events so that these events never happened again.

Another important question is that when returning the church property why did we go back to the time before 1948, as far as 1945. In spite of the fact that the Democratic Party was in power, there was a substantial loss in church property between 1945 and 1948, especially in the case of the Evangelical church. In our effort to rectify the errors of that period we made an exception and we went beyond this time limit. The Slovak Government will not initiate any more restitutions. We want to finish here.

We have also remedied mistakes done to Matica Slovenska [organization promoting Slovak language and culture] whose printing presses in Martin [home city of Matica Slovenska in northwestern Slovakia] were taken away. This week, the government has decided to privatize Neografia [printing press in question] in favor of Matica Slovenska. Of course, the value of the presses is today different than what it was originally but it was necessary to correct historically this step. Therefore it was decided that Matica Slovenska would privatize Neografia for one Slovak crown under the condition that Neografia would not be transferred to anybody else for a period of ten years and that ten percent of the shares will belong to the employees.

One has to come to terms with one's past. But within one's present possibilities. Coming to terms with one's past must be an act of justice on which future development will stand. It cannot be corrected, it can be only mitigated and a fresh impetus to a new life can be given. And we are doing this. Thank you for your attention.

## Foreign Minister Meets With U.S. Ambassador

*LD0410194393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik held a meeting in New York yesterday with the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright and with Robert Oxman, representative of the European Bureau of the U.S. Department of State .

After the meeting Moravcik noted that at present, the U.S. Administration has not decided whether the four states of the Visegrad Group should become members of NATO earlier than other countries of Central or Eastern Europe.

Moravcik also explained to the U.S. partner our policy on solving the problem of national minorities and expressed his belief that our intentions were understood.

### Antall To Visit Germany for Medical Treatment

*LD0410163793 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Budapest, October 4 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, suffering from non-Hodgkin lymphoma, will visit Cologne, Germany, for about four weeks of medical treatment from October 6, 1993, Professor Gyorgy Nemeth, head of the pm's medical team, announced through the prime minister's press office today.

In keeping with government rules, the prime minister will be substituted for by Minister of the Interior Peter Boross.

Hungarian authorities will be able to maintain contacts with the prime minister to consult him on key issues.

There will be regular updates about Antall's treatment.

The prime minister asked the Hungarian people for understanding while announcing his treatment in Germany to parliament.

### Defense Minister Comments on Events in Russia

*LD0410193393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Excerpts] Good evening. Those who rebelled against [Russian President] Yeltsin have surrendered. [passage omitted] Our "Extra" program today will analyse the political, military, and economic consequences of the Russian events. Editor Evelyn Forro is at the microphone:

[Forro] [Passage omitted] Shortly before the beginning of our program we managed to contact [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur by telephone. After he left the parliament building, he went to his office. I asked him to assess the developments in Moscow. Minister Lajos Fur is in the line:

[Begin recording] [Fur] The outcome, the final result, what we know by now, could have been taken almost for granted. That is to say, it was obvious that the legally elected president, Yeltsin, and the forces on his side would have gotten out of this struggle [successfully]. There are several reasons for this, as things happened. One of them is Yeltsin's popularity, which still prevails. The other is the support from abroad. It was unambiguous on behalf of almost the entire world, at least on behalf of the democracies. The third is an internal reason, Russian society's apathy, lethargy, the fact that Khasbulatov's group did not really have mass support.

Finally, the fourth factor is, and this is the most important, the Army's behavior which did, and could make clear for all observers that it is Yeltsin who will recover from this struggle.

The Army, with its neutrality, by keeping clear of the events—that is to say, it did not intervene directly in daily politics, but unambiguously committed itself to support Yeltsin; and by the fact that the higher leadership [of the Army] kept the Army in hand, with the leadership of Minister Grachev—unambiguously supported Yeltsin and turned the scales in Yeltsin's favor.

What I have to add is that this was not not a great, triumphant victory for anybody, I think, not even for those who have won this battle in Moscow, since it is not always good to introduce reforms, to establish democracy in such a way.

[Forro] Yeltsin has actually won this battle, but will he, in your view, win the war, I mean war in quotation marks of course?

[Fur] That is what I also wanted to say. This was just one battle. The forces of Russian democracy still have a long way to go. The question is how they can complete this path, or if they can complete it at all? [passage omitted]

I do not know if on this path they will manage to create a genuine, adequately working parliamentary democracy based on a multiparty system, to set up genuine local governments in this huge empire. It is a big question of the Russian internal situation, and I can say it is a big question for Europe and mankind, too.

[Forro] In your view, will the present Russian situation have any political, military, or economic consequences for Hungary?

[Fur] If things become a bit quieter, and it is obviously going to happen after the bloody events, there will not by any means be negative consequences. There may be even positive consequences if this tendency can strengthen a little bit. Some kind of economic upswing could start slowly, better contact in this area, ties could widen politically, too, and last but not least military relations would also be very important, for during our talks last week we managed to agree on important areas where military cooperation between the two countries could be extended. [end recording]

### Comments on MiG Deliveries

*LD0110162793 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by unidentified Moscow correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Russia is opposing the membership of Central-Eastern European countries in NATO in the short run. In his letter forwarded to the Atlantic alliance, Boris Yeltsin proposes that the region's security should be jointly guaranteed by Russia and NATO. [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur, during his talks with the Russian defense minister, has practically confirmed the information. The defense minister of our country has said that if the range of the members can be wider in the future, and Russia will be a NATO member later, then Moscow will

not oppose the extension of the North Atlantic Treaty. Our Moscow correspondent reports on Fur's visit to Krasnodar:

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, it seems that the pilots, the technical staff, are ready to receive the MiG-29's. I wonder when the planes themselves will be arriving in Hungary?

[Fur] According to the previous plans—and it appears that we can adapt to that—the delivery of the planes to Hungary will begin on 10 October, and it will be completed by 30 October.

[Correspondent] What do these 28 planes mean for Hungarian Air Defense?

[Fur] They can fulfill a significant role in the Hungarian Air Defense and Air Force. If we consider the old MiG-21's and 23's, they are partly outdated and amortized, I would rather say. Compared to them, introducing these absolutely modern, high standard fighter planes that compare well with the leading technology—even if it is just one thousandth [as heard]—they will very much secure and protect air defense and air space of the little Hungary.

### Signs Agreement With Slovak Minister

*LD0410185193 Budapest MTI in English 1437 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Budapest, October 4 (MTI)—The bilateral military agreement signed by the Hungarian and Slovak defence ministers today is an important component of confidence-building, which is practically indispensable in this region, Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur said after meeting with his Slovak counterpart Imrich Andrejcak in Budapest today.

After signing the agreement at the Hungarian Defence Ministry, the two ministers held a press conference.

Fur said that security in this region should be based on openness and confidence.

The Slovak minister, who is paying a one-day visit to Hungary, expressed the hope that the agreement would help reinforce friendship between the two countries. He laid stress on the provision that cooperation should not harm the interests of third countries.

The agreement envisages mutual information about major troop movements, consultation on arms cuts, an exchange of military observers, and coordinated action in the border regions to guarantee the security of military flights.

The ministers said that the agreement was signed a week later than scheduled because the Slovak minister had to undergo medical treatment last week.

The ministers said they had discussed the Russian crisis, which they feel threatens European security. They emphasized the need for President Yeltsin to consolidate his power.

Andrejcak said that the events in Russia would contribute to closer cooperation between Hungary and Slovakia because controlling anti-democratic forces is their common interest.

The ministers discussed the Visegrad countries, endeavour to join NATO and the expected Russian response to the issue.

Fur informed Andrejcak that the 28 MiG-29s Hungary will receive from Russia as part of repayment of former Soviet debts are soon to arrive in the country. Andrejcak said Slovakia would procure similar fighters from Russia.

The ministers exchanged views on post-graduate training of officers. Financial conditions for training Hungarian pilots at Kosice, Slovakia, are still under discussion.

### Lezsak Says MDF Must Win 1994 Elections

*AU0410142093 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 3 Oct 93*

[Text] Budapest, 3 October (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has managed to get past a dramatic period, as it has done at other times, and it is capable of strengthening weakened confidence, regain self-confidence and radiate it in spring 1994 at the general elections, said MDF Managing President Sandor Lezsak at a anniversary session of the party's county branch in Szolnok, central Hungary, Saturday [2 October] night.

"The MDF must win the 1994 general elections. In the coming period, it will have to draw up a convincing election policy to show that the country has no other choice," Lezsak said.

Defence Minister Lajos Fur, member of the MDF national presidium, said, over the next months, both the nation and the MDF will face the same political question as in 1990. At that time, the question was whether a leftist regime will remain in force in Hungary, or the regime built by a "soft dictatorship" can be replaced by a real democracy. What is going to be decided now is whether Hungary stays on the democratic path it chose in 1990, or there will be a turn to the left, even if not a sharp one, Fur said.

Speaking about the MDF's political guidelines, he said the party has to prepare for the same thing it undertook in 1990, not diverting either to the right or to the left, it has to represent a centrist policy.

### Skubiszewski Statement on Moscow Events

*LD0410171093 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on Monday [4 October] sent a statement to PAP in connection with the latest developments in Russia.

Referring to the October 3 statement by the Polish Foreign Ministry, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stated that he had been authorized to say that in connection with the current developments in Moscow President Lech Walesa is upholding his position taken at the beginning of the confrontation in Moscow last month.

the minister was referring to President Lech Walesa's official communique issued September 22 in which the president expressed his support for President Boris Yeltsin and the hope that Russia would be able to solve its problems positively.

The minister added that the supreme organs of the Republic of Poland are following developments in Moscow with full attention and anxiety. The Foreign Ministry is expressing its sympathy and regret because of the victims of these events.

Democratic transformations should be carried out peacefully and the instigation of force, what occurred in Moscow on October 3, is inadmissible, the statement says.

President Yeltsin has a mandate obtained in free elections. The exercising of this mandate for the democracy lies in the interest of Poland that is striving for stabilization, peace and good relations with her eastern neighbours. President Boris Yeltsin has always enjoyed Poland's support in the construction of democracy and in respecting rights and sovereignty of other countries including Russia's neighbours, the statement says.

### Transport Links With Moscow Unaffected by Events

*LD0410115693 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Air, rail, and bus connections with Russia are functioning normally. An Aeroflot charter plane landed on time at Okecie airport this morning.

### Defense Team To Monitor Russian Events

*LD0510005793 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—The Polish Defence Ministry has set up a special team charged with monitoring the current events in Russia.

The team, headed by Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, includes Defence Ministry experts and army officers.

Meanwhile, the National Security Office (BBN) at the presidents chancellery said that the events in Russia were causing anxiety as to the future of the democratic reforms there. The BBN statement pointed out that although the situation in Russia did not represent a direct threat to Poland at the moment, it should be remembered that Russia was Polands biggest trading neighbour.

The events in Moscow have not led to any increase in people from the Commonwealth of Independent States entering Poland. There has been no break down in communications between Poland and russia.

furthermore, Polands supplies of gas from Russia are not threatened, according to Deputy Minister for Economic Cooperation With Abroad, Zbigniew Okonski.

Okonski, who is going to Moscow on Tuesday on a working visit, added that economic agreements between the two countries are being honoured.

"We are anxious about the development of the political situation in Moscow. We are for the victory of the democratic forces in Russia," said Okonski.

He added that it had to be borne in mind that two thirds of Polands natural gas came from Russia.

On Tuesday in Moscow Okonski will be discussing questions of mutual cooperation, including a mutual settling of trading accounts. He stressed that his ministry was continuously in touch with its representatives in Moscow.

The treaty on Polish-Russian cooperation signed by Presidents Yeltsin and Walesa in Warsaw in August is being put into operation despite the fact it has not been ratified by the Polish or Russian parliaments.

Polands mass media have been working overtime to provide news of the events in Moscow. Polish Press Agency (PAP) reporters have provided almost 200 items of news a day, Polish radios Channel 1 has been issuing half-hourly reports on developments and the Television Information Agency (TAI) has doubled the number of its news broadcasts.

"We were the only station which broadcast Yeltsins speech at 7 o clock live," said the head of Polish radios Channel 1 Krzysztof Michalski.

### Politicians Comment on Yeltsin Statement

*WS0510103093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2-3 Oct 93 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Anna Wielopolska and Zbigniew Lentowicz: "Yeltsin Questions Polish Road to NATO; Music of the Past"]

[Text] "The goal of Poland—integration with the European Communities and the security zone of NATO—has been obvious for some time now throughout the political

world, including Russia. We maintain this stand and we have not changed it in any way," said President's Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski to the Polish Press Agency PAP. He was asked to comment on the news announced by world agencies, concerning Boris Yeltsin's letter to Western leaders; the letter warned them against admitting former communist states of Eastern Europe to NATO.

"Yeltsin's statement has not changed anything in our situation. Poland is a sovereign state and it alone will choose its allies," said Drzycimski in the radio program entitled "Sygnaly Dnia" [Signals of the Day]. However, on Friday [1 October] the Belvedere declined to issue an official statement on this matter; it stated that Lech Walesa was not familiar with the content of the letter. "One cannot shape a foreign policy on the basis of press news and not on the basis of materials that come from the sources," added Andrzej Drzycimski. Also Przemyslaw Grudzinski, deputy minister of national defense for defense policy, did not want to take an official stance on this issue without familiarizing himself with the facts. A similar statement was issued by Grzegorz Dziemidowicz, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; he stated that "he cannot take a stand on something that the Polish authorities are not familiar with." He also recalled President Yeltsin's statement made during his August visit to Poland: "Yeltsin said then that Russia was neither for nor against Poland's integration with NATO, because Poland is a sovereign state and carries out a sovereign policy. This statement was falsely interpreted by mass media, which claimed that it was "consent."

**Politicians commented on Yeltsin's statement more readily.**

"Unfortunately, I was not greatly surprised at the statement," said Ryszard Bugaj of the Labor Union [UP]. "For some time now I have been afraid that Russia would approach our plans from a distance."

The problem is that Poland's partners in the West will most probably not ignore Yeltsin's statement. According to the UP leader, it is necessary to realize at last that our integration with NATO does depend on whether the situation in Russia will be clear or not. "I always thought it was pretty naive to believe that everything is ready, that it is all very near..."

However, according to Bugaj, the most disconcerting thing about Yeltsin's letter is the suggestion that Russia will be the one to guarantee security in Europe. "This has bad associations; however, we must shape our policy by taking into account Poland's geographic location; therefore, we must seek the best possible methods of reaching an agreement with the East, but we must at the same time not give up our plan to enter into NATO."

Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, "does not understand" Yeltsin's statement. "You cannot say one thing, and then after a few weeks say something entirely different," said Kwasniewski. He added that we do not know all the information about Yeltsin's September visit to Warsaw, or about recent events in Moscow. In both cases public opinion should become familiarized with the details. As for the crux of the matter, Aleksander Kwasniewski is of the opinion that Poland absolutely needs an efficient security system. "I stress the word efficient, with a clearly defined concept of cooperation with Russia, so as to exclude the danger that Russia might be our enemy." According to the leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, matters related to NATO should be discussed without emotion, because as politicians' reactions show, this is more serious than it seemed.

According to Bronislaw Geremek, one of the leaders of the Democratic Union [UD], the statement concerns a more general concept of security in Europe. "It is an expression of the political philosophy that was pursued for years: A bipolar division of the world," said Professor Geremek; he added, however, that this is rather "the music of the past." According to the professor, it is difficult to say why after the August visit of President Yeltsin to Poland, when he made entirely different statements,...

**The Old Overtones Have Now Returned**

The statement made in August created a new situation (some Russian politicians have always queried the idea of Poland's integration with NATO), which may be destroyed today. "I hope that this is not related to the election results in Poland," said the UD leader. However, regardless of the statement, Poland should not give up trying to become a member of NATO, even though it may be difficult for some Russian political circles to give up the role of being the guarantee of security in the security zone.

Also Donald Tusk, head of the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD], stressed this necessity. "Yeltsin's statement confirms that we were correct in trying to integrate with NATO as soon as possible." The statement embarrassed the KLD leader. "It is a problem that many people in Poland have to cope with. On the one hand, we really admire Yeltsin and the Russians for their determination in fighting communism; on the other, however, we are all of a sudden taken aback," complains Tusk. It is also a peculiarity of Russian politicians. How can we explain the fact that all of a sudden, at an international meeting, Minister Kozyrev (in the fall of last year) made a statement that Russia should swerve from the road of reforms, which petrified half of the world, and then he explained that it was just his sense of humor? "It is a certain political immaturity; they also have lots of problems; besides, this is characteristic of such people," said Tusk. However, in this situation, the KLD leader fears more the reaction of the West to such a statement of the Russian president.

"Quite frankly,...

**We Were Not Particularly Surprised...**

at the recent steps taken by Yeltsin. We thought that the earlier statement of the Russian president, made in the Belvedere, was forced," told us Michal Strak, representative of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Strak recalled that the politicians from the President's entourage distanced themselves in Warsaw from the September statement. According to PSL, the issue of integration with NATO is not one of the most urgent matters. "We are not hysterical now, just as we did not share the enthusiasm of commentators who evaluated the change of Moscow's stand on our integration with NATO too early," added Strak.

According to Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], talking about our membership in NATO is for the time being a "great mystification," created by second-rate politicians in order to achieve temporary political aims. The KPN leader claims that the military structure of NATO will remain closed to us and that it is unrealistic to believe that someone will readily take over our responsibility for the country's defense. Faith in the words of Minister Onyszkiewicz that NATO will soon ensure our security is, according to Moczulski, just as dangerous as the belief in Yeltsin's words, who publicly predicted the future of our part of the continent. Yeltsin is now in a tragic and uncertain situation; he will employ "many similar slogans" in his game because he wants to achieve a result that would be favorable to him.

## Cimoszewicz Sends Letter on Coalition to Walesa

*AU0410170993 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 29 Sep 93 p 1*

[Letter to President Lech Walesa from Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, chairman of the SLD National Executive Committee]

[Text] Mr. President,

Your letter of 22 September, 1993, sent to Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski and containing a request to submit candidates recommended by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] for the post of prime minister has been treated by us as a spur to hold political consultations aimed at explaining the prospects for the formation of a majority coalition government.

The Polish state and our society need the rapid formation of an efficient, stable, and highly competent government. It should be formed with the support of a clear parliamentary majority.

Guided by this line of reasoning, we proposed the formation of a coalition government with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Union of Labor [UP], that is, only to those groupings whose representatives did not state publicly that they were not interested in talks on this subject. The policy similarities of the SLD, PSL, and UP were another reason.

Our talks, despite temporary hitches, have yielded the preliminary results that make it highly probable that a majority coalition government will be formed.

In the light of these circumstances, we would like to have an opportunity personally to present to you, Mr. President, the content, scope, and possible consequences of the decisions that have been agreed.

I am deeply convinced that our state's needs, understood in the best possible way, require direct cooperation between us.

Respectfully yours,

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, chairman of the SLD National Executive Committee.

Warsaw, 28 September 1993.

## Democratic Union Wants To Unite With Liberals

*WS0510121993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 93 p 2*

[Report by Malgorzata Subotic: "Will A New Party Be Formed; Union Wants Liberals"]

[Text] The Democratic Union [UD] proposes that the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] form one party with it. It is the decision of the 100-person authorities of UD (the so-called Council); four persons voted against the motion.

"The election results mean that the government will be formed by groups whose programs are alien to us. Since it respects the will of the voters, UD will be in opposition," declared the UD Council; this confirmed earlier statements of UD leaders. Bronislaw Geremek avoided answering the journalists' question: What will happen if the Polish Peasant Party and Labor Union, without the Democratic Left Alliance, try to form the government? "We are prepared to talk with anyone who makes such an offer," he stated and added that, being definitely in opposition, UD will not act in line with the rule: The worse, the better.

According to unofficial information, among those who voted against the resolution was Zofia Kuratowska, chairperson of the socio-liberal faction. However, as Bronislaw Geremek assured the journalists, there was not much disagreement among the various factions. (It is worth recalling that in UD there is a "left" wing, with Zofia Kuratowska, and a right wing, often called the conservative-liberal faction). Wladyslaw Frasyniuk stated that UD is becoming an increasingly uniform party; "the process of faction linking" around the program of a free market economy is under way.

Why does UD want to unite with KLD?

"Now that we can see the danger caused by the victory of parties whose promises will not be kept, if we join our people and our programs, we will be able to advocate the idea of a free market, the decentraliztion of the state,

citizens' initiatives, and an efficient social policy. Our joint party can and should become the spokesperson for all those who value the ideals of freedom and an open society; it should become a formation with wide support." This was the official statement.

During the Council session, Jan Maria Rokita, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, said that the fundamental mistake that UD committed in the elections was that it did not form a coalition with the liberals. He was emphasizing that since the presidential elections and the 16-percent support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UD "has been going down." (More than 12 percent in 1991 and 10.5 percent in 1993). He was persuading: "If we want to overcome this, we must build a broader formation." He appealed for the alliance with KLD to be formed quickly and dynamically.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka used similar arguments; she recalled that before the elections she favored establishing a broad front of parties that have formed the present government coalition. She also said that UD must change its style. If it is only an elite party, a party of educated people, it will be relegated outside the 5-percent bracket of social support.

An overwhelming majority of UD politicians supported the plan of uniting with the liberals as soon as possible. No sound arguments against the unification were put forward (at least according to the information that RZECZPOSPOLITA obtained, because the session was not open to the press).

Only two matters could raise slight doubts: whether a similar offer should not be directed to other parties as well, such as Aleksander Hall's party, and whether such a method of communicating with a potential partner (that is, by issuing a statement) was not a false start.

At a meeting with journalists, both Frasyniuk and Geremek stated that it was a mistake that there was no election coalition between UD and KLD; they added, however, that "it is no use in calling anyone to account" because both sides are to blame. Frasyniuk also stressed that it is no use for the two parties to compete for the same electorate, if they have a similar program and if they can cooperate.

KLD leaders told RZECZPOSPOLITA that they were surprised at UD's declaration, because "such a proposal should not be presented without consultations with the partner." The final decision will be made by the KLD congress, which is scheduled for the middle of November.

## Politicians View Future of New Sejm

*WS0510131493 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2-3 Oct 93 p 2*

[Report by Miroslaw Usidus and Marcin Dominik Zdort: "How Long Will the Sejm Hold Out"]

[Text] For politicians, especially those who have already tasted power and influence, being outside the parliament is a difficult matter. Therefore, the desire to return to political salons as soon as possible seems only natural. Some want rapid changes; they want elections to be held in a few months' time, saying that such a nonrepresentative parliament will not hold out its entire term of office; others have decided to wait it out until the next elections in four years' time, hoping that the popularity of the governing left will be on the wane.

### The Distorted Parliament

"This has not happened in Europe yet; the limited mechanism of election laws has not cut off 35 percent of the real electorate, that is, of the people who went to the polls," say unanimously Wieslaw Chrzanowski, president of the Christian-National Union [ZChN] and Ludwik Dorn, vice-president of the Center Accord [PC]. For this reason, both politicians predict that this parliament will not last the entire four-year term of office. "I do not query the democratic character of the September elections; however, such a tilted, distorted parliament is not capable of fulfilling its political role and therefore, it will not last longer than a year or two," says Dorn. The PC leader believes that a longer term would only be possible if the new government camp began to resort to measures of state pressure. "Earlier elections are not only in our interest, but also in the interest of the democratic political system. Definitely at least some parliamentary parties link their future with democracy; therefore, they will be forced to hold earlier elections. Well, the state cannot function for long in a situation where two legs and one hand have been cut off from the collective sovereignty," says Ludwik Dorn and adds that also PC links its future with earlier elections because it does not intend to play the role of an extraparliamentary party.

### Uncomfortable Without Opposition

"The present Sejm will be able to fulfill its legislative functions; it will probably be able to do so rather efficiently. However, to a large extent it will not be able to fulfill the function of a political representation. All the same, new elections cannot be held very soon," says Wieslaw Chrzanowski. The ZChN president believes that even if the Sejm adopts a new Constitution, which "for moral-political reasons it should not do," new elections should be held after it is passed. Apart from that, new elections will be unavoidable because it will be the desire of the parties which hoped to become even stronger in the Sejm (the Confederation for an Independent Poland 'KPN,' the Democratic Union 'UD'), but did not gain anything in the elections, and of the authorities, who will find it uncomfortable to govern without the opposition. Chrzanowski is convinced that the next elections cannot take place within a couple of months, because in such a case attendance would be even lower.

Also Aleksander Hall [Conservative Party leader] considers it rather unlikely that the government will last

long. He believes that it would be best if the new elections were held in two years. According to Hall, the date of the elections will depend on the actions of those in power, the president, and on the reaction of the people.

**Earlier Elections Inevitable**

"We are convinced that the next elections will take place sooner than in four years, maybe very soon indeed," says Krzysztof Krol, deputy leader of KPN. However, his party will not demand that elections be held earlier. Instead, it holds to a rather deterministic conviction that since the elections are inevitable anyway and will happen very soon, then there is no use in expediting them. According to Krol, no one should treat seriously the arguments of some parties, which have not entered the parliament, that the elections are invalid and should be repeated.

**It Will Survive Four Years**

"Shortening the parliament's term of office would be a mistake under any circumstances," believes Donald Tusk, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. There are also other reasons why the liberals do not want earlier elections. "We have a lot of work to do in order to regain our former position. This cannot be done in a half year or in a year. Elections at such a time could only mean one thing: 'a repetition of the past,'" says Tusk.

Tusk does not feel up to saying exactly how soon the popularity of the left will decrease. "This depends first of all on their policy," he says. "They may do unpopular things and gradually lose social support. They may also prolong their popularity by catering to various social groups. Even though the results will come a little later, they will be much worse for the left."

This does not mean that the waning popularity of the victorious parties should be taken advantage of in the elections. According to Tusk, what we should do is strive to stabilize the four-year cycle, which is normal in a democracy.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka of UD believes that the parliament elected on 19 September will survive four years, "if no elements arise which is difficult to predict right now," because "there are too many variables in Polish political equations."

## Finance Minister: Budget Revenues To Increase in 1993

*LD0410202493 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—This year's budget revenues will most likely reach about 440 trillion zlotys (22 billion dlrs), a sum higher than the forecast 433.5 trillion zlotys, Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski told journalists on Monday [4 October] adding, that the increase in revenues can be attributed to the introduction of VAT.

He did not exclude that this year's deficit may be lower than the forecast 81 trillion (five per cent of the GDP) and may total 65-68 trillion zlotys. In his opinion, "realistic savings" in budget spending are necessary but he did not envisage any special difficulties in financing the deficit although the National Bank of Poland (NBP) intends to pay a few trillion zlotys less to cover the deficit.

Osiatynski recalled that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, at their annual session in Washington held recently, expressed their concern over whether it is possible to increase the budget deficit in Poland without triggering inflation.

He added that new proposals of the commercial banks, to which Poland's debt amounts to 12.3 billion dlrs, would be more favourable than these presented in July this year. The next round of negotiations is scheduled for the end of October.

## Border Crossings With FRG, Czechs Remain Unopened

*LD0510011493 Warsaw PAP in English 2316 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Jelenia Gora, Oct. 4—Two new border crossing points, between Poland and the Czech Republic (at Hradek-Porajow) and Germany (at Porajow-Zittau) remained unopened on Sunday [3 October] due to technical reasons, according to the Polish Foreign Ministry. The Germans had wanted the Porajow-Zittau crossing to be opened as part of the third anniversary celebrations of German unification.

The Czech side had apparently put pressure on the Polish local authorities to go ahead with the opening. "One cannot have a situation where the crossings on the Polish border are opened under pressure from our neighbours. The most important thing is the sovereign will of three states," argued Jelenia Goras provincial Governor Jerzy Nalichowski.

### Vacaroiu Addresses Transport Conference

*AU0110144493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1250 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu addressed on Friday, 1 October, the conference of transport ministers of south-east European countries now taking place at Mamaia, on the Romanian Black Sea coast. He outlined the targets of the Romanian government's policy regarding Romania's development, including the transport priorities. He mentioned among the targets the development and building of motor ways by leasing, the building and updating of airports and, generally, the introduction of modern technologies already implemented in European transport. Premier Vacaroiu also referred to the difficulties posed by the mounting price of fuel, which led to a chain-rise of other prices.

Deputy Ion Bivolaru, vice president of the Commission on Industry and Services, urged the participants to help singling out solutions for the integration of Romanian transport in the European system.

A conference of the Mediterranean transport community also takes place in Mamaia, debating the transport from the Mediterranean Sea to the Black Sea and the other way round. Ten countries are represented in the conference.

### Iliescu Gives Speech on German Unity Day

*AU0110184993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/10/1993—At the reception given on the occasion of the German unity day, President Ion Iliescu said among other things that "nobody is in a better position than Germany when it comes to understanding the problems and major difficulties countries like Romania are facing in their transition to the market economy, because the experience of the economic reunification of Germany speaks for itself. With a market economy in full swing, and placed among the world's top economies in point of potential and results, with financial allocations over 150 billion German marks annually, the transition of the former East German economy is yet shaken by social costs."

"From this point of view," the Romanian president said, "our message is simple. We believe that the new unity of Europe, the recovery of its economic structures are doomed to fail if based on 'assistance policies.' What these objectives require is a policy pursuing the extension of cooperation, and partnership relations."

"I have the conviction that Romania and Germany can, quite easily, define concrete objectives and proceed to developing major cooperation actions. Pleading for this is not only the Germans' exact and practical spirit, but also the value of the resources the two countries can set in motion," the Romanian president said.

### PD-FSN President on Events in Russia

*AU0410124493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/10/1193—"The violent events in Moscow show that any democratic appearance on the part of conservatives, on the part of the supporters of the old, Stalinist-type regime, has vanished," said Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front [PD-FSN], considering that "what is happening in Russia today is a clash between democracy and the forces of the past and we believe that the democratic forces, represented by president Boris Yeltsin, democratically elected by the Russian people, are managing to defeat the reactionary, retrograde forces that stick to the former regime."

### Commentary Views Iliescu Pro-Yeltsin Stand

*AU0410153393 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Sep 93 p 3*

[Article by Bogdan Burileanu: "Meaningful Bravery"]

[Text] For us President Iliescu's reaction to the events in Moscow events was surprising and prompt, to say the least. It was even bold, if one takes into consideration the clearly expressed "pro-Yeltsin" position. We must admit that this is an unprecedented performance by the resident of the Cotroceni Palace [President Iliescu], who so far has been noted for his ability to postpone making clear decisions and cladding his decisions in nuances and ambiguous tones. We were tempted to believe—and even hail—the step forward that he ventured to take. Looking at this act more closely, however, it is easy to note not so much the conjectural character of such a statement as the other step taken in the opposite direction, that it, backward.

Certainly, the heated nature and thus the unsure outcome of the moment, makes the president's statement an act of courage. Let us not forget that it was issued less than 24 hours after the hostilities started in Moscow! The progress registered by Mr. Iliescu regarding the speed of reaction is evident if we recall that only two years ago, he waited for a suspiciously long time before he stated his position on the anti-Gorbachev coup, allowing the [Petre] Roman government first to take the risk of an official statement. Now, his action was simultaneous with the action of the executive power and it is hard to believe that only the person of Prime Minister Vacaroiu stimulated the speed of his decision. It was rather the person of Ioan Talpes, head of the Foreign Information Service, who served him more promptly than his predecessor, Mr. Caraman. Thus, being aware of how the wind blows and who is going to be the winner, Mr. Iliescu could "release" an impressive statement. The good impression that such a thing has on the West is beyond all doubt and ensures maximum advantages with minimum risks. Under such circumstances the stand-by accord with the IMF, acceptance in the Council of Europe, and the American clause [most-favored-nation

status] will come much closer to Romania. "And what is wrong with it?" somebody might ask. The president is serving the homeland, and ultimately this is what really matters. To achieve this goal, he even used political means that are worth all our admiration.

I believe that—and that is the source of fundamental reservation—through this act, President Iliescu is repeating the bluff that his predecessor, Nicolae Ceausescu made in August 1968, when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia. Ceausescu also knew at the time he delivered his speech that Romania was not included in Russia's plans to be occupied. Such actions would have been carried out concomitantly. And when he appeared on the balcony [of the State Council building], the wave had passed and together with it, the immediate danger as well. Apart from that, Ceausescu based his position of being a "dissident" (in fact an asynchronous position) on an acute personal need for "noninterference in domestic affairs." That is what interested him most: to be left alone to do what he wanted on his own and without having to account for his actions to anybody. The way in which he used his "independence and sovereignty" could be seen later. There were too few who understood then, in the heat of events, the meaning of his courage and the "correct" position on which, in the same conjectural way, he relied.

Again imitating his former comrade in ideas, arms, and the party, Ion Iliescu today carries out the same type of diversion. The formal support he grants to Yeltsin is not prompted by the attraction of Yeltsin's ideas and actions, because the new chief of the Kremlin has definitively crushed communism and the people who served it, whereas the chief of the Cotroceni Palace.... What bothers and interests Mr. Iliescu most is the legitimacy of his Russian "colleague" who, as his much vaunted statement says, "was elected by popular vote and reconfirmed by a referendum."

The conclusion is equally evident. By recalling his own legitimacy, President Iliescu again draws attention to the fact that he is immutable, since the nation elected him, thus, he can do what he wants. Even a state coup, if it is needed.....

## Editorial Views Vacaroiu Visit to Russia

*AU0410205393 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 1 Oct 93 p 1*

[Editorial by Bogdan Chirieac: "Concessions for a Price That Was Announced Beforehand"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's decision not to postpone his visit to Moscow, despite the atrocities broadcast by every television station in the world, has to be appreciated. The opposite would have been a great error. On the one hand, because the circus at the White House is not destabilizing Russia and Boris Yeltsin in any way. On the other hand, because the Romanian prime minister would have literally missed the boat for possible imports of natural gas and oil for the coming winter. The export licenses for oil products this year established by the Russian Federation are about to be exhausted. A delay of a few weeks would have thwarted any efforts to heat Romanian people's homes in the approaching winter.

The 31-minute meeting between Vacaroiu and Yeltsin seem to have been a success for the Romanian prime minister. The "white bear" has agreed that relations between Romania and the various republics and territories of the Russian Federation should be direct and not through Moscow. Actually, this means reopening the huge gate to the Russian market. "The market is not characterized by political color," said Mr. Vacaroiu when he returned from Moscow. Regaining access to the Russian market, however, will neither be easy nor immediate. The vacancy left by CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] has been well filled by Western companies. However, not all is lost: Western products cost twice as much in Moscow than in Bucharest, while with a minimum salary the Russians can buy, whichever they like, a kilogram of meat or a bottle of poor quality vodka. Therefore, Romanian products have a chance because of their price and performance. Apart from signing some five cooperation agreements, we should also mention that Moscow has accepted that Romanian and Russian experts should exchange documents on Romania's treasury by 31 December, this being a philosophical question as Prime Minister Chernomyrdin put it... At the same time, it seems that in about two months there will be a chance for signing the Romanian-Russian basic treaty.

The concessions obtained by Mr. Vacaroiu, however, had their price: He avoided broaching such sensitive subjects as Moscow's attitude toward Romania's possible admittance to NATO, the situation in Moldova, and, particularly, the Dniester question, and the patrimony of CEMA.

Although announced a long time ago, I still got the impression that the Romanian Embassy in Moscow had not prepared the visit properly. The first day, when the Vacaroiu-Chernomyrdin negotiations were under way, the Romanian prime minister's advisers were simply left waiting on the sidewalk in front of the government offices of the Russian Federation. Numerous other failings in the program could be noted throughout the visit. The Romanian Embassy seems to be doing well only as far as security is concerned. A three-meter railing of iron spikes surrounds the building, unlike the missions of Hungary, Sweden, or Germany, where the railings are decorative or completely absent. As far as communications are concerned, however, our embassy fares worse. The link with Bucharest is achieved by means of a single telephone line and sometimes getting a connection may take as long as two hours. A communications system with tom-tom drums, smoke signals, or bonfires from one hill to the next would probably be faster and much less expensive too...

My impression at the conclusion of Prime Minister Vacaroiu's visit was that, at this point, Romania does not count very much to Russia. President Yeltsin seems to be very busy speculating as much as possible on the attitude of conservative Khasbulatov, who has been given broad coverage by the media. The withdrawal of the cordons of police from the White House would probably trigger a conflict. But Yeltsin wants to negotiate only with the great powers of the world. This is probably why he has no time left for former "satellites." It is difficult to say whether this should please or depress us...

## Hungary To Perform Surveillance Flight

*AU0410193393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/10/1993—On the strength of the agreement between the Romanian and Hungarian Governments concerning the establishment of an "open skies" policy, the Hungarian party will make on October 5-8, 1993, a surveillance flight in Romania. This will be the third flight during the current year.

The flight of the Hungarian aircraft specially equipped for surveillance missions will start from Bucharest's International Otopeni Airport.

According to the terms of the agreement ratified on February 27, 1992, by the parliaments of the two countries, the flight will be attended also by a team of Romanian military experts.

Beside representatives of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries, other two observers from Ukraine are invited by both parties to attend the flight.

Till the end of 1993, each party, Romanian and Hungarian, has one more such flight to make.

**Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 5 October**
*WA0510165693*

*The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.*

## SUMMARY

***UN Security Council extends UNPROFOR mandate ... Fighting erupts between Bosnian Army, supporters of western Bosnian leader Abdic ... Belgrade Radio claims split developing among Muslims in Tuzla.***

## UN PROTECTION FORCES

UNPROFOR MANDATE IN CROATIA EXTENDED (TANJUG, Zagreb TV): UN Security Council extends UNPROFOR mandate for six months. Croatian Foreign Minister Granic says UN resolution has met "almost all" of Croatia's demands, while FRY Foreign Minister Jovanovic warns resolution has "reduced the chances for peace." (LD0510010993, LD0410223593, LD0510093293)

## POLITICAL

FIGHTING ERUPTS AMONG MUSLIMS: TANJUG reports that supporters of Bosnian President Izetbegovic "launched a mortar attack" on Muslims who had declared their autonomy in western Bosnia, while Zagreb Radio quotes UNPROFOR sources announcing that 11 Muslims—three soldiers loyal to Izetbegovic and eight supporters of his Muslim rival, western Bosnian leader Abdic—were killed in fighting between the two sides. (LD0410165993, LD0510131193)

BELGRADE RADIO CLAIMS SPLIT AMONG TUZLA MUSLIMS: Belgrade Radio says "part of" Muslim leadership in Tuzla is "indicating that it, too, could embark on the same path" as western Bosnian leader Abdic, who declared western Bosnia's separation from Muslim authorities in Sarajevo. Tuzla Muslims reportedly split into "fundamentalist wing" that supports Izetbegovic and a "reformist wing" that "intends to carry out a referendum on autonomy by the end of the year." (AUO410165793)

### Izetbegovic Forces Shell Rival Muslim Stronghold

*LD0410165993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] Petrovac, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, the leader of the newly-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia, said that as far as he was concerned Alija's [Izetbegovic] Bosnia did not exist any longer and that "the only way out for the people and Agrokomerc [powerful food industry plant based in Velika Kladusa] from Velika Kladusa was an autonomous province."

According to Radio Cazin, last night Fikret Abdic received representatives of the Fifth Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army . According to the same source the meeting took place at the request of Drekovic's [commander of Fifth Corps] command. Fikret Abdic did not want to accept any of the proposals offered by the Fifth Corps negotiators.

Velika Kladusa Radio reports today that supporters of Alija Izetbegovic launched a mortar attack on Velika Kladusa this morning, and that a large group of Izetbegovic supporters was infiltrated in the area of the Velika Kladusa municipality to organize diversions and the boycott of the autonomy. [passage omitted]

### Izetbegovic Issues Ultimatum

*LD0410130693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] The Western Bosnia News Agency (ZBIA) has reported via the Velika Kladusa-based command of the French UN Protection [UNPROFOR] battalion, that this morning Alija Izetbegovic issued a fresh ultimatum to the leadership and people of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. Fikret Abdic has been ordered to proclaim null and void a decision on the proclamation of independence and to restore former authorities, while the people have been called upon to close ranks with Izetbegovic's army. If the orders are not fulfilled all means at Izetbegovic's disposal will be used.

In a statement to ZBIA, Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, confirmed that he and his people have been called on to surrender, otherwise all facilities belonging to the provincial government and the entire Agrokomerc will be destroyed. Despite these threats, submission to the military might of Alija Izetbegovic it is out of the question, Abdic said, because there are no rebels in western Bosnia as Alija Izetbegovic said; it is the people's free will to live in peace on its own territory.

### Izetbegovic Receives Delegation

*AU0510104493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has received Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnian Krajina Operation Group with Commander Mehmed Alagic at its head. The Bosnian Krajina Operation Group delegation included Slavko (Gridic), president of the Banja Luka District, [name indistinct], member of the Army General Staff, (Hatif Koricic), commander of the Seventh Muslim Brigade, and Fikret (Cistic), commander of the Seventh [word indistinct] Krajina Brigade.

The Army representatives informed Izetbegovic about the situation in the zone they covered and pointed out that the Army supports the stances of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina and condemns the act of aggression committed by Fikret Abdic, as well as those people supporting him. The stand of the Krajina delegation is that such a behavior is weakening the efforts of the liberation forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it means great responsibility [words indistinct] the support of the people to the efforts of the legal authorities and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in overcoming the entire situation quickly and efficiently.

President Izetbegovic congratulated the Krajina people on their brave soldierly conduct and the performing of the difficult tasks that they are facing every day. Izetbegovic promised that our country's civilian authorities will do everything in their power with a view to creating the conditions in which the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina could protect the people and liberate the occupied territories.

### Presidency Discusses Cazin

*AU0510095993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] A session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo yesterday. The session was chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic. The participants in the session discussed the current situation in the country, especially events in the Cazin Krajina.

The Presidency adopted a number of (?guidelines) that are legally binding. The initiative on forming a commune of (?Kreca) was adopted. It was also decided to form the war presidencies of Bosanski Petrovac, (Rogatic), and Stolac.

By the presidency decision, Stijepo Andric, governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was relieved of his duties. It was also decided to found a college for (?criminalist) sciences. In line with decisions of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Presidency will do its utmost to fill the vacant places in the Presidency.

The Presidency also named ambassadors to Austria, Switzerland, and Kuwait. Deputy Prime Minister (Hajro) Dimic was appointed ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria, Muhamed Filipovic, deputy in the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was appointed ambassador to Switzerland, and (Naim Savic), deputy in the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was appointed ambassador to Kuwait.

## Army Issues Statement

*AU0410204793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Here are some more details of the events in Bihac County, which were gathered by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Yesterday, former Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Fikret Abdic continued his activities on breaking up the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and establishing the so-called Autonomous Region of Western Bosnia. He organized an Agrokomerc workers' assembly in the village of Polje, the seat of the anti-constitutional headquarters, which was supposed to turn into a rally and emergence of the people onto the political scene [dogadanje naroda]. This was a failed attempt because only 3,000-4,000 people showed up instead of the planned 10,000. The rally was also used for founding the Democratic Party of Western Bosnia. Fikret Abdic also addressed the gathering, calling the people to join against the army and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. The people were subsequently loaded onto trucks and buses—not all of them—and were taken to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army checkpoint in the villages of Johovica and Skokovi, where they demonstrated their support for Fikret Abdic and the intention of breaking through to Cazin, which is under the control of the legitimate authorities.

Toward the evening, the people dispersed without any incidents. Cazin and Bihac were quiet last night, and life goes on under the leadership of the legitimate authorities. In Velika Kladusa, however, there was some unrest and shooting. Namely, after an unsuccessful attempt at bribing his like-minded accomplices by giving them larger salaries and consumer credit cards, Fikret Abdic is now employing more rigorous methods. Those who do not think in the same vein are summoned for informative talks [informativni razgovor] and their phones are disconnected; he has begun arresting his opponents, using armed civilians to do this.

The 5th Corps command has control over the situation in its zone of responsibility and is taking further measures to prevent any kind of actions that could endanger the lives of the population and members of the army. The morale of the 5th Corps troops and officers is exceptionally high and guarantees the implementation of all planned activities, stated Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the 5th Corps, in a statement that he dispatched to Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Supreme Command, early this morning.

## Fighting Reported

*AU0510081093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Fifth Corps Information Service report]

[Text] As we have already informed the public throughout the day, the situation in the (?county) has taken on dramatic proportions. The situation in Skokovice is calming down. Common sense and goodwill to prevent the spreading of conflicts in the Cazin commune—which was the main goal of the secessionists—in a civilized way has prevailed. However, the situation in Jahovica is extremely dramatic. Mercenaries are using artillery and snipers to target the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. There are seriously and lightly injured among the 5th Corps members, but the situation is under control.

After realizing that peace initiatives do not stand a chance with the crazed supporters of Fikret Abdic, the 5th Corps members have finally decided on a decisive and energetic answer. According to information obtained from autonomy advocates and hit men who have been arrested, Fikret Abdic is paying 1,000 German marks on the spot to anyone who takes up arms. Those without guns are paid 1,000 Austrian schillings. This is the ultimate move of desperadoes and big time losers.

Over 150 troops from the 527th Light Brigade and 521th Hill Brigade have crossed over to the Bosanska Krupa commune, where they are reporting to affiliated units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. Moreover, the civilian population is fleeing in droves to Buzim from the repression of Abdic's mercenaries. Many people are in hiding to avoid being forcefully recruited into the mercenaries' ranks. With its statements, the 5th Corps command has warned the civilian population to take shelter away from the site of the conflicts because there is a great danger for the innocent population, but also because the mercenaries are using the civilian population as a human shield. Finally, let us add that the 5th Corps command has sent an appeal today to the Embassy of Bosnia- Herzegovina in Zagreb, in which it informs them of the situation in the county and demands that they make an effort to see that the truth reaches the world. The appeal states the following:

We appeal and request that you lodge a sharp protest with Croatian Television, government, and other bodies of the Republic of Croatia for openly aiding secessionism, for biased informing of the public, and usurping the right to truth. We remind you that Fikret Abdic—in a manner reminiscent of the greatest dictators—has arbitrarily proclaimed the so-called Autonomous Region of Western Bosnia, dissolved the communal assembly, the Velika Kladusa Communal Assembly, closed down the Executive Committee of the Velika Kladusa branch of the Party of Democratic Action, distributed arms to the major war profiteers and criminals, all in the function of an armed uprising against his own people and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

You need to [word indistinct] know all this in order to have a clear understanding of what is really happening in Bihac County. We call on you to represent our country

and this county in a dignified manner and to do everything to ensure that the truth reaches the world, particularly the relevant European and international factors and our citizens abroad. This was Stanudin Nijasarevic reporting from the 5th Corps Information Service.

### Abdic's Supporters Attack Army

*AU0510111993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] As could have been anticipated, the most extreme groups of the outlaws and [words indistinct] of Fikret Abdic continued artillery attacks on the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the village of Johovica. This morning they attacked a patrol of a French battalion [words indistinct] type eight [words indistinct] tried to disarm the terrorists [words indistinct] negotiations with the Command of the 4th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage indistinct]

### Eleven Reported Killed

*AU0510091993 Paris AFP in English 0828 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 5 (AFP)—Eleven people were reported killed in fighting between Moslem secessionist forces and loyalist troops in Bosnia's western Bihac pocket, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) official said Tuesday [5 October].

Five loyalist soldiers and eight men from the secessionist forces of rebel leader Fikret Abdic were said to have been killed in fighting Monday afternoon near Sturlic, along the border with Croatia.

Loyalist forces were reportedly deployed in a bid to put pressure on Abdic just ahead of negotiations scheduled to take place Monday afternoon under UNPROFOR mediation. The talks were later called off.

Radio Sarajevo, for its part, spoke of two loyalist soldiers being wounded by artillery fire at the small village of Johovica, near Velika Kladusa, an Abdic stronghold.

The rebel leader, who was sacked from the Bosnian collective presidency after declaring his province autonomous last week, had ordered the arrest of political opponents in Velika Kladusa, UN officials and Radio Sarajevo said.

Meanwhile, loyalist troops have regained control of Skokovi, on the main road linking the town of Bihac to Velika Kladusa, both sources said.

Several hundred pro-Abdic supporters, who had blockaded the road at Skokovi left peacefully, the sources added.

### Court Annuls Autonomy

*LD0410202193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] The Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina at its session today decided to annul the act adopted on 27 September in Velika Kladusa by the so-called constituent assembly on the founding of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, as well as other acts adopted on the basis of this one.

The annuled acts served as a basis for the constituting of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia and the forming of its bodies of authority—the president of the province, the assembly president, the government, the supreme court, the armed forces.

The Constitutional Court, it is said in a statement for the public, judges that the acts in question do not conform with the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina because they attempted to establish a new form of social and political community with the outlines of an autonomous state and legal entity which would have assumed functions that are in the exclusive jurisdiction of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This brazenly violates the state set-up and the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Belgrade Radio Claims Tuzla Muslims 'Split'

*AU0410165793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Is Tuzla facing a denouement similar to that in [Velika] Kladusa? Our correspondent Vlado Trisic reports:

[Trisic] After Fikret Abdic's decision to proclaim western Bosnia an autonomous province, part of the political leadership of the Tuzla region is indicating that it, too, could, embark on the same path. In the political leadership of Tuzla, the Muslim leadership has split into the opposing camps: a fundamentalist wing and a reformist wing, for whom the revival of the collapsing economy and the saving of the population from starvation are the prime objectives.

The majority of the population in the Tuzla region no longer wants to be held hostage by Muslim hardliners, who are prepared to sacrifice the entire nation for their insane projects. They have tucked their families away all over the world, ranging from Turkey and Pakistan to America.

It has been learned that the reformist wing, which advocates ideas similar to those of Fikret Abdic, intends to carry out a referendum on autonomy in the Tuzla region by the end of the year.

## Croats Losing Ground North of Mostar

*LD0410225493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Report from Mostar by correspondent Sefko Hodzic]

[Text] Early this morning, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] extremists and the Croatian army launched a major offensive from the direction of Listica and Vrdi against our soldiers' positions in the Dreznica area. The attack was fierce and artillery, tanks, and infantry were used. Our soldiers resisted the attacks until 0300 and then they launched a well-prepared counteroffensive on the largest and the most powerful HVO stronghold of Vrdi from which the HVO soldiers have been firing on the Jablanica-Mostar road for months.

However, Bosnia-Herzegovina troops, or, to be more precise, soldiers of the Zulfikar special unit succeeded in taking one by one the elevations on this 20-km long and seven-km wide stretch of the front. Fighting is still going on but, by 1800 this evening, our soldiers succeeded in capturing the key (Vilica) and Arapovo Brdo hills. Fighting is now taking place for (Grube) and our soldiers are advancing through less difficult terrain on the Vrdi plateau.

## Izetbegovic Discusses Sarajevo HVO With Croats

*AU0410210393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] President Alija Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic today received the representatives of the Croatian Coordination Committee, headed by their president, Tvrtko Nevjestic. The committee members acquainted President Izetbegovic with the goals and assignments of this committee, which coordinates the activities of all Croatian institutions. Izetbegovic talked to the committee members about the committee's goals and assignments in implementing the joint Tudjman-Izetbegovic declaration as well as restoring trust among the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The committee is trying to maintain and restore the unity of the Bosnia-Herzegovina peoples, regardless of the ultimate organization of this country. They expressed their wish that this would come about in a peaceful way.

The position and function of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Sarajevo was also discussed. The committee asked President Izetbegovic to base the future position of the HVO on the current function of their units in the defense of Sarajevo from aggression. President Izetbegovic expects the committee's help and cooperation in resolving all misunderstandings that call into question the consistency and loyalty of the defense on the lines held by the HVO in Sarajevo.

### Granic Comments on Extension of UNPROFOR Mandate

*LD0410223593 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Statement by Croatian Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Granic] UN Security Council Resolution 871 has just been adopted. This comprehensive resolution has met most, or almost all, of Croatia's demands to the secretary general and to the Security Council. The contents of the resolution are well-known and have already been commented on. It is very important that all 15 members voted in favor. What is also important is the debate that ensued after the adoption of the resolution. Almost all the participants in the debate—nine of them—have resolutely upheld the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia. Likewise, they were all impressed by the Croatian president's speech and his cooperatives during his visit to New York and the United Nations. The delegations of the United States and New Zealand laid special emphasis on Belgrade's responsibility for the events in the Pink Zones and the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] in the Republic of Croatia.

Therefore, this resolution has been adopted with the absolute approval of the international community. It was also pointed out that the resolution of the problem of ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be facilitated by the adoption of this resolution.

Full support has been voiced for the Republic of Croatia and almost everybody pointed to its constructive role during the negotiating process in which we did not give in on any major demand.

### Jarcevic Denounces Resolution

*LD0510110993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[text] Knin, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina, has told TANJUG that the republic of Serb Krajina government will not negotiate with the international community nor with the Republic of Croatia on the bases of the resolution which was adopted by the Security Council yesterday.

Noting that this is his personal opinion, Jarcevic said that both this resolution and the previous ones were adopted too late. They could have served some purpose had they been passed in 1990, "while the former Croatia still existed and the life of the two ethnic communities could have been resolved, before Croatia began its bloody feast in the Serb towns and villages."

Meanwhile, according to Jarcevic, Croatia has expelled 90 percent of the Serbs from the territory under its authority. "It is insane to believe that these Serbs should be made to return and live there and that the Croatian Army should be allowed to enter Krajina. That army would do the same to these Serbs as it did to those who lived under its authority".

"We are certain that our people want to preserve what they have—a state, which has been in existence for four years. The republic of Serb Krajina will negotiate with the international community and with Croatia only from this standpoint, a standpoint of a state which wants to normalize its relations with neighboring Croatia," Starcevic said.

As for The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], they can stay, but only in the role of protectors of the republic of Serb Krajina people, for there are no occupation forces from Serbia in Krajina, as the Zagreb government claims.

### Tudjman Sends Letter of Support to Yeltsin

*LD0410162793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has sent a letter to Boris Yeltsin. We have just received its text:

Your Excellency, in connection with the latest developments in your country, may I express my personal support and that of the entire Croatian people for your struggle to maintain and further develop the democratic order you have been courageously trying to defend from attacks from those who cannot come to terms with democratic and economic changes. Their resistance to democracy motivated by personal ambitions and the mentality of an outdated Communist totalitarian system does not even shun causing bloodshed among its own people.

I am convinced that your wisdom and energetic approach as a statesman you have shown in defending democracy will contribute to maintaining peace in Europe and the entire world and will enable your people to live in peace and prosperity.

Your Excellency, may I avail myself of this opportunity to express my profound respect for you, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

### TANJUG Views Istrian Antagonism Toward Croatia

*LD0210153893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 2 Oct 93*

[By Dusan Kojic]

[Text] Belgrade, October 1 (TANJUG)—The dissatisfaction of the population of the northern Adriatic peninsula of Istria with the Croatian centralized authorities and the rehabilitation of the Ustashi ideology is becoming increasingly evident, and the region's activities towards independence are gaining momentum.

The deep antagonism along the Istria-Zagreb line came into the open in a recent assessment by Istrian Regional Assembly head Luciano Delbianco that 'today's centralist Croatia does not present the desired framework within which Istria could develop.'

Delbianco rejected claims by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that the desires of Istrians to become linked to neighbouring European regions—which the strongest regional party the Istrian Democratic Assembly urges—present the 'de-Croatization' of Istria.

Until the interests of the Istrians are met, the differences between Zagreb and Istria will continue to increase, Delbianco said. Istria has a population of around 250,000, including ethnic Italians although around 300,000 of them were banished to Italy after the Second World War. It is one of the most developed regions in Croatia, but Zagreb each year grabs a huge part of the income of this large, the republic's main, tourist center, jeopardizing the development of the region.

The authorities of Istria demand, among other things, that the region keep two-thirds of its income, get a higher degree of local self-management, and that the majority shareholders of Istrian firms be local citizens.

While the Istrian Democratic Assembly sees the direction of the developmenmt of Istria in links with other—mostly neighbouring—European regions on the principle of trans-border regional cooperation, Zagreb is not willing to relinquish its role of patron.

This became very clear late last year when Croatia passed a new law on districts and municipalities, which was aimed at breaking up the unity of Istria. The peninsula was partitioned into 36 small municipalities, and Croatocentric Pazin, a town with only 7,500 inhabitants which is on the fringes of the current political and economic developments, became the regional center, and not Pula, which has a population of 65,000.

At the local elections in February this year, the Istrian Democratic Assembly carried off an overwhelming victory, taking 67 percent of the vote. It won 35 of the 40 seats in the regional assembly, and the majority, if not the absolute majority in all city assemblies.

In order to regain the power it lost at the local elections, the Zagreb regime last month adopted a series of laws which fully centralize state administration and enable the enforcing of the will of the state leadership.

Istrians immediately reacted and held an emergency session of the regional assembly, warning that unless Croatia coordinated all the adopted laws with the European charter on local self-administration, they would internationalize the problem, call a referendum, and stop obeying the republican authorities.

A special chapter in the Istria-Zagreb relations is the stand towards antifascism. To the strong indignation of Istrians, the Croatian Republican Assembly has decided that the monetary unit of the new state will be the kuna, which was inaugurated in the ustashi independent state of Croatia created with the support of Nazi Germany during World War Two.

Istria's stand on fascism is best illustrated by Delbianco's statement that Istria will 'always support only that Croatia which proudly sets out its antifascist stands and will not permit the realization of increasingly open attempts to rehabilitate the ustashi ideology (the Croatian model of fascism), and thus also the crazy idea to equal fascism to antifascism.'

## Serb Firing of Missiles in Croatia No 'Bluff'

*93BA1500G Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 93 p 13*

[Article by Borislav Solesa: "The Missiles Were Not a Bluff"]

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, Croatian president, although he has the solid education of a former general of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], has completely overlooked that the Serbian military forces of Krajina are only some 20 km as the crow flies from the Croatian capital of Zagreb. Only when a Luna M missile (in NATO terminology, it is referred to as the Frog 7) fell in a suburb of Zagreb, the settlement Lucko, did President Tudjman speedily begin to talk about a unilateral cease-fire on the Croatian side. As though he took the words of Brigade General Mile Novakovic, commander of the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina] Army, who several times (!) announced precisely that the revenge for Croatian attacks on Krajina would be the shelling of Zagreb—as an attempt at a wartime bluff.

Immediately after 22 January, in a state of "a soldier's desperation," Gen. Novakovic announced for the first time that the Krajina side, because of the incursion of Croatian forces into Ravni Kotari, could respond with a reprisal in the form of an attack on Zagreb. In an interview with BORBA, Novakovic explained at the time that his people have missiles, he did not mention the type, with which that could be done. After the Croatian forces rushed into Krajina and into a zone under protection of the United Nations, more precisely into Divoselo, Citluk, and Pocitel, not far from Gospic, killing and torching a still undetermined number of soldiers and civilians (Croatian sources speak about 30 Serbs killed), the top military leadership of Krajina decided on a radical and risky military step.

When the situation on the front is examined, it is clear that Mile Novakovic did not order such an action just in order to keep his word. On the contrary, it would have been far more comfortable not to keep his word. Why, then, did the Krajina "missilemen" target and hit Zagreb?

Gen. Janko Bobetko, commander of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, according to recent information, has committed almost all available forces in Croatia to a major operation; it is still not known whether this is

limited in scope or is a general offensive. Krajina, which has barely one-fourth the fighting men of the Republic of Croatia, thus found itself sorely tempted. When the Croatian unit set out after the conquest of Divoselo in the direction of Medak—intending to cut the road from that place to Gracac—the General Staff of the Krajina Army realized that the Croatian forces could penetrate deep into the territory of Lika.

That is the main reason why the Luna M, a Russian missile weapon purchased back in the time of the JNA, was fired toward Zagreb. Because the range of that type of Luna (with a charge of 500 kg of the explosive trotyl) is 70 km, it was not particularly difficult for the gunners to get it to its target.

After the Krajina fighters near Vrginmost (14 December) downed the Croatian MiG-21 (one of the four that fled from the JNA to the Croatian Air Force), it was clear that Krajina, viewed from the military standpoint, has respectable systems of defense on the fringes of the UNPA [UN protected areas] zones. Although it has nearly 170,000 fighting men, the Croatian Army, which also has 270 tanks, is not in a position to simply "march in" among the "rebellious Serbs."

As a matter of fact, the skirmishes around Zagreb could be a provocation for the "hawks" on the Croatian political scene. Gojko Susak, defense minister, and Janko Bobetko, commander of the General Staff, are unfortunately numbered among them.

**[Box, p 13]**

**Zagreb's Defense Penetrated**

The Luna M missile penetrated Zagreb's defense. And it is well-known that once a breach is made through an adversary's system of defense, then it is difficult to "close" it again, because the other side's weapons can cause chaos in the meantime. In that kind of development of the situation, then, it is also no very big problem for the other powerful Krajina trumps, such as the multibarrel Orkan and Oganj rocket launchers, to attack such a target, once "a bite" has been taken out of it. On the Croatian side, they have perfect knowledge of the Orkan, which with a range of 50 km and a load of 60 missiles represents a real pestilence on the battlefield.

## Croatia's Goals in Battle of Gospic

*93BA1500F Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 93 p 13*

[Article by Srdjan Radulovic: "The Objective—Superiority on Velebit"]

[Text] Did the last Croatian attack on Krajina (Divoselo and Citluk) represent part of a larger operation, as military sources in Knin assert, or is this a limited military action of taking a "pocket" of Krajina territory wedged between the slopes of Velebit and Gospic?

The command of the Serbian army of Krajina [SVK], referring to statements of captured Croatian soldiers, has announced that the Supreme Command of the HV [Croatian Army] planned the operation of encircling Serbian forces in Benkovac and Obrovac and a breakthrough on the line Stankovci-Bruska-Zegar. At the same time, in the Lika segment of the theater the Croatian forces, according to the same interpretation, were supposed to take the area under Velebit to the Gospic-Sveti Rok road, to the west of Gracac.

Later, mention was made of the danger of a Croatian attack on Banija, and that assertion of military sources in Knin has been reinforced with what we have learned about new forces and tanks brought up, which at first were thought to be headed for Okucani.

**The Objective—Domination on Velebit**

It is hard to believe that Croatia planned to conduct the operation of encircling Benkovac and Obrovac, because even the Croatian Operation Maslenica on 22 January, in spite of surprise and the fact that Serbian heavy armament was under control of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], had limited success. So it seems that in this case the mention of Croatian actions in the northern Dalmatian theater is a reminder of the former Operation Raseljke, which was planned back last year. The most certain version is that Croatia opted for an action limited to the area around Velebit and that the accumulation of Croatian forces in the direction of Banija are the consequence of the subsequent development of events.

That is, the region of Divoselo, Citluk, Pocitel, and other villages under Velebit was not adequately defended. These were mainly local people and small segments of units of the SVK deployed on the northern slopes of Velebit (Mali Alan) from Medak, on the Gracac-Gospic road. At the same time, Croatia has in the meantime managed to take most of Velebit, which gave them a considerable advantage when it came to the possibility of defending the Serbian "pocket" under Velebit. By taking that area and breaking through to the Gospic-Sveti Rok road, the Croatian side would neutralize the danger of a Serbian attack on the southwestern borders of Gospic, while by taking Sveti Rok, formerly a large storage facility of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], communications would be cut off between Gracac and Mali Alan, whereby Croatian forces would achieve complete domination on Velebit and open up room for a more effective threat of a breakthrough in the direction of Benkovac and central Bukovica.

**Knin Secure**

The shelling of Teslingrad to the north of Gospic and other Krajina towns along the line of demarcation was meant to draw out the Serbian forces. In the same context, it is possible to interpret the attack on Mirlovic Polje two days earlier as a feint in order to draw attention of the SVK Command away from the planned attack on Divoselo.

These limited attacks and the shelling of Serbian places on the border also have one other unfavorable consequence for Krajina, and that is the exodus of the inhabitants, so that at the moment more than 1,400 people have left their homes in the vicinity of Mirlovic Polje, Divoselo, Medak, Teslingrad....

In support of the assertion that the Croatian action against Serbian villages under Velebit was planned as a limited operation, we can also cite the opinion of Karl Gorinsek, a discharged Croatian general, who has said in FERAL TRIBJUNA that Croatia still does not have enough forces to attack Krajina.

"I do not think that there is no possibility of a threat, and a serious one, to Knin."

**Divoselo—For Negotiations or a Tunnel?**

He goes on to say that Serbian missile systems are considerably more numerous and stronger than those of Croatia and that they can be additionally reinforced from the air. "From the military standpoint, a possible decision on an attack on Knin is not justified, and if such a decision is made, it can be only a political decision," General Gorinsek believes, adding that Croatian politicians "often make statements 'off the top of their head'" and that Croatia "does not have the forces for long-lasting warfare," but that it should limit itself to "actions of a diversionary type, which have a limited military effect, but can have great psychological influence."

Gorinsek made the statement before the Croatian attacks on Mirlovic Polje (commando operations) and on Divoselo. Incidentally, on 13 September the Croatian side allegedly consented to withdraw forces from Divoselo and Citluk, provided that region is completely taken over by the UNPROFOR. However, the case of Maslenica and other parts of the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina] in the northern Dalmatian area which Croatia took on 22 January stands as a warning that Divoselo could also become part of the "package" of protracted negotiations and could come under jurisdiction of the UNPROFOR, as envisaged for these areas, whose control gives Croatia the possibility of building a tunnel through Velebit.

## Peterle 'Supports Yeltsin's Efforts' Toward Democracy

*AU0510092293 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Speaking at a news conference today, Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle expressed regret about the bloody events in Moscow and supported Yeltsin's efforts toward Russia's democratic development.

Peterle devoted the major part of the news conference to his visit to the United States. He said that all his interlocutors from EC member-countries and from southeastern Asia expressed a desire for the strengthening of connections with our country. Peterle also said that not a single one of the foreign diplomats asked him about the affair linked with the weapons found at Maribor airport. This was asked only by Slovenes from the United States. There is still the question of the embargo on the import of weapons into our country.

In New York, Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle met about 20 foreign ministers. These meetings had been agreed in advance and have brought a positive image of Slovenia into the world, Peterle said. During the talks, his interlocutors pointed out that Slovenia is a successful, safe, and pretty country with prospects.

Foreign Minister Peterle also numbered among the successes of Slovene diplomacy the opening of five new embassies of the Republic of Slovenia within the last two months, the meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Andreatta, and the visits of EC (?Commissioner) Hans Van Der Broek and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Slovenia.

We have also opened the Romanian Embassy in Ljubljana and agreed with Ireland that Ireland will diplomatically cover Slovenia from (?Vienna) and Slovenia will cover Ireland from London.

## Kucan 'Directly Involved' in Arms Smuggling

*LD0110214493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1306 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Ljubljana, October 1 (TANJUG)—President of the former Yugoslav republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan was directly involved in organizing the smuggling of more than 120 tonnes of up-to-date arms for Moslems in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which were last summer discovered at the airport near the Slovenian town of Maribor.

Kucan had arranged the arms smuggling with Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, with whom he met several times in Slovenia towards the end of September and in early October last year, the Slovenian interior minister said in a report.

This highly classified document shows that Kucan and Izetbegovic maintained contacts with the chief organizer of the operation, Hasan Cengic, a senior official of Izetbegovic's Party of Democratic Action (SDA) for whom an international wanted circular was sent out last summer.

At a secret meeting of senior SDA officials at Lake Bled in Slovenia from September 30 to October 5, 1992, Cengic received from Sudanese businessman from Vienna al-Fathi al-Hasanayn a cheque for one million marks intended for the purchase of arms.

He later met several times with Kucan, Slovenian Interior Minister Igor Bavcar and other Slovenian officials.

Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa was also involved in the delivering of arms to Bosnian Moslems, shows the report.

As established, Cengic discussed arms smuggling even at the Slovenian Presidency.

The arms shipment discovered at Maribor airport, which was by no means the only delivery of arms coming from Western Europe via Ljubljana to Sarajevo, has been estimated at 6.5 million marks.

## Federal

### Jovanovic Assails UN Security Council Resolution

*LD0510093293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2337 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] New York, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—By adopting a resolution which extends the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate in Krajina and Croatia under the conditions set by Croatia, the UN Security Council has reduced the chances for peace, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on 4 October.

Extending the set of conditions for lifting the sanctions makes the chances for peace and a resolution of the Yugoslav crisis through political means more distant, instead of increasing them, Jovanovic told TANJUG immediately after the vote in the Security Council.

The resolution on the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate "unfortunately contains a number of elements which such a procedure should not contain." Particularly unacceptable, according to Jovanovic, are Articles 4 and 5 of the resolution, which relate to issues that have nothing to do with the mandate extension.

"Article 4 very often mentions Yugoslavia as the only country which is expected to cooperate in the full implementation of the Vance plan and to fulfill its obligations regarding the plan," the Yugoslav minister said. He noted that Yugoslavia has done a great deal for the plan to be created and adopted. "Since then it has had nothing to do with the Krajina issue, because the other parties, that is Krajina and Croatia, undertook to put into practice the obligations from the plan," Jovanovic said.

"The singling out of Yugoslavia presents an indirect way of allowing Croatia to continue to undermine the plan and to go on with its aggressive actions in the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas], invoking the clause on Yugoslavia's alleged responsibility for the situation," he asserted.

Article 5, albeit in an indirect manner, links the implementation of the Vance plan to the sanctions, which is not only unacceptable for us but also devalues the Security Council, Jovanovic said.

"The Security Council should be the first to observe its own resolution on the sanctions, which were imposed solely and exclusively in connection with the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Jovanovic said. "We firmly believe that the interpretation of Article 5 regarding the arbitrary linking of the question of lifting the sanctions with the Vance plan will not be accepted by the largest and most responsible part of the international community, and that the sanctions will be lifted as peace is established in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

### Russian Official Admits Reported Missile Sales to Serbs

*OW0110131993 Tokyo KYODO in English 1242 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Tokyo, Oct. 1 KYODO—A senior Russian Trade Ministry official on Friday [1 October] acknowledged reported sales of Russian missiles to Bosnian Serb forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but denied the Russian Government was involved.

"Although I do not know what channels such weapons manufactured by Russia or the former Soviet Union have been exported through, they have been turned over to such forces or countries," said Mikhail Sarafanov, director of the Russian External Economic Relations Ministry's National Market Research Institute.

"However, the Russian Government itself is not involved in such sales," Sarafanov told a news conference at the Japan National Press Club.

A report by THE OBSERVER, a British newspaper, said that Russia sold surface-to-air missiles and T-55 tanks to Bosnian Serbs in January for 360 million dollars and dispatched soldiers and engineers to train Serb fighters.

Sarafnov also denied other reports that Russia tried to export missile fuel to Libya and surface-to-air missiles to Romania before their cargoes were respectively seized by Ukrainian and Moldovan customs officials.

He suggested the possibility of private manufacturers or exporters being involved in such attempts.

"Although the Russian Government agreed to international monitoring and stoppage of weapons exports to such countries, the situation in which Russian weapons have been brought to such countries has nothing to do with Russian Government decisions."

He denied allegations that a proposed lifting of curbs on militarily applicable high technology sales to Russia could jeopardize the security of the international community by bolstering the competitiveness of Russian weapons.

"Our demand to secure the lifting of Cocom (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls) regulations resulted from our tough economic situation," Sarafanov said.

"In order to develop and manufacture high-technology products, we need to import high-tech products," he said.

At the July Tokyo summit, Russian President Boris Yeltsin called for dropping the Cocom regulations on imports into Russia of high technology.

Sarafanov called for Japan to provide its renowned technology and financial assistance to lift Russia's troubled economy.

Quoting official statistics, he said Russia exported some 3 billion dollars worth of weapons in 1992—about one billion dollars more than the value of interest and principals it repaid the same year to international creditors.

Cautioning actual sales may be higher than this, he said the 1992 amount is about one-third of weapons sales in 1989.

The Russian Government is considering expanding weapons exports to make up for its revenue losses that resulted from decisions to halt supplying them to Iraq, Cuba and other countries, he said.

"We will maintain our share in the international weapons market," he said.

### Yugoslav Airlines Coping With Sanctions

*93BA1510F Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 93 p 15*

[Article by Pavle Mrdjanov: "The Sanctions Have Clipped the Wings"]

[Text] There is no doubt that JAT [Yugoslav Airline] was the first to be hit and was hit most fiercely by the sanctions. Put more simply, just imagine the cost of grounded airplanes, how much is being lost because of the Mediterranean and international flights that have been canceled.

The fact that the Yugoslav air carrier had too large a labor force, that its wings were rather shaky even before the sanctions were introduced, merely compelled the company's management still more to take radical steps with a single objective—surviving the blockade. That is, following a significant reduction in the number of employees (pensions and so on), introduction of the category of mandatory leave, JAT began to float. Unable to fly in foreign airspace, it rented some of its grounded fleet to others. Thus, several planes with their crews have been rented to Turkey (three) and Tunisia (four). From what we have learned, unofficially to be sure, JAT has ended up losing those seven rented planes. Incidentally, Milorad Crnjanin, a deputy of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] in the Federal Assembly, inquired about their fate the other day. One has ended up its travels as a Turkish private charter of an airline in Ireland, two have remained in Turkey, and all four in Tunisia have been grounded. There is no need to give particular emphasis to the amount of this loss.

JAT, however, is not accepting defeat. In collaboration with those with whom it has done business abroad for many years, it is carrying Yugoslav passengers by bus to Timisoara in Romania and from there by scheduled service to Larnaca on Cyprus, Moscow, and Zurich.

"We intend to broaden this cooperation with three more lines: to the Italian cities of Bari and Trieste, and also to London. When, we will let you know later," we were told by Rajko Belic, JAT commercial director.

And clearly resourcefulness is also the name to be applied to the additional involvement of JAT's Transportation Center, the Catering Service (preparation of food and meals), and recently even the JAT Aeronautical Training Center in Vrsac, which is not very well-known, not even to JAT employees themselves, and which even has its own farm (and not a small one either) where it is raising crops and livestock.

## Serbia

### Draskovic Sends Letter of Support to Yeltsin

*LD0410185393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], today extended his sincere condolences over the Moscow casualties to Russian President Yeltsin and the government of this country.

Draskovic also extended his condolences to families of the dead and wished a speedy recovery to those wounded.

Wishing Yeltsin to "persevere on his path of renaissance" the SPO leader said that "those who in October 1993 attempted to return Russia to October 1917 were responsible for yesterday's tragedy."

## Macedonia

### Gligorov's Describes Trip to New York as 'Fruitful'

*AU0410165893 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 4 Oct 93 pp 1,2*

[Report by S. Jovanovska: "Presentation of Our Policy and Requests"]

[Text] After a week in New York, where he participated in the work of the UN General Assembly for the first time since Macedonia was admitted to the organization, President Kiro Gligorov returned yesterday, together with the other members of the delegation, among whom were Vice President of the Government Becir Zhuta and Vice Chairman of Parliament Kiro Popovski. Upon arrival at the airport, he made a statement, in which he explained, first of all, the aims of the visit, and listed the meetings that he had had there.

"During this visit to the United States, we had several goals in mind: First, to present ourselves and our policies to the UN General Assembly, and second, to have as many meetings as possible, so as to establish further political, economic, and other relations.

Our goal was also to present ourselves to the United Nations, and through discussions to acquaint foreign statesmen with the position of Macedonia on the sanctions, which, as we all know, are having a severe effect on us, with a view to finding understanding and support for Macedonia in this difficult situation. We also had meetings with representatives of several international institutions, and yesterday I availed myself of the opportunity to meet a group of our Albanian citizens, a day that was otherwise almost totally dedicated to citizens of ours from Canada and the United States, who had come, we can say without any exceptions, from all the communes, associations, and communities. Thus we can conclude that we had very fruitful discussions."

Concerning his assessment of the proposal presented by Greek Foreign Minister Papakonstantinou to organize "an international conference on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of former Yugoslavia," forwarded to the General Assembly, the president said:

"I think this proposal caused nothing but surprise; and no other reaction. Namely, it is considered to be an unreal proposition with no conditions whatsoever, and I was unable to see many who were interested in such a conference." Concerning the possibilities for Macedonia to obtain compensation for the damage caused by the sanctions, which was one of the priorities in New York, the president was unable to give a direct answer, but he said that our position on this issue had generally been received with understanding. Furthermore, he added, there were several discussions and consultations among those interested, which covered the Macedonian debt toward the World Bank and what aid it could be given by certain states. The president went on to say that Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski would be working on this issue next week.

To conclude, in reviewing the meetings and discussions, which, in his words, were most fruitful, President Gligorov said:

"I would first of all like to make a special mention of my discussion with Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, which was really interesting and fruitful. I invited him to visit Macedonia, as one of the newly accepted countries, and to assure himself of what I stated in my report to the General Assembly—that Macedonia is a successful example of preventive diplomacy." President Gligorov also said that his meetings with the foreign ministers of Great Britain and Germany, Douglas Hurd and Klaus Kinkel, were important, and he described it as a special pleasure to meet Cyrus Vance, when they mainly talked about the continuation of bilateral negotiations after the elections in Greece.

"I think," President Kiro Gligorov concluded, "that on their side there is a readiness for a rapid solution of the problem, and I hope there will be also good will on both sides."

## Foreign Minister on Greek Conference Proposal

*AU0510122993 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 3 Oct 93 pp 1,2*

[Report by Zoran Andonovski: "Reality of New Independent States Should Be Accepted"]

[Text] Yesterday the Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou took the UN floor and expressed Greece's readiness, when an agreement is reached in Bosnia, for Athens to host, as he said, "an international conference for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of former Yugoslavia." Papakonstandinou pointed out that the European Community should "take an active part in the difficult task of the reconstruction of former Yugoslavia," emphasizing that the present road should be taken into serious consideration.

Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, commenting on the Greek proposal, said:

"Our stance on this matter is clear: Yugoslavia, as a state, has been split up. New independent states have appeared in the international community, have been broadly accepted by it, and I cannot see here much space for further speculation, although it is obvious that some still have such ideas. However, I think that just as the international community accepted the reality, others should also gradually accept the existence of independent states, which will make their own sovereign decisions about the kind of contacts they want to establish."

When he was asked what the Macedonian reply would be if it is asked to take part in such a "conference for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia," Crvenkovski first said that he does not believe that such a call, with such a formulation, could appear on the agenda, but more likely in another form, and he emphasized that it is absolutely clear that after such a call, we would take into consideration, within our legal institutions, what is the interest of our [words indistinct] from the position of an independent country. It should be clear to everybody, also to those who would convey such a call, that the only condition for Macedonia to participate in any discussions is to participate as an independent state that can discuss different aspects of cooperation, but with an explicit stance—and can discuss from its own position and with its own objectives.

The lunchtime discussions two days ago, organized by President Kiro Gligorov in honor of the mediator for the Macedonian-Greek negotiations Cyrus Vance, attended by Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski and our UN Ambassador Denko Maleski, in Crvenkovski's words, were not conducted "in the function of negotiations," but were more a kind of exchange of opinion on the whole situation in the region and "a friendly companionship." Crvenkovski did not want to comment on the Greek proposal extended from the UN General

Assembly floor, offering Athens as host to "an international UN summit" at the beginning of the year 2000, where a global strategy for action in the 21st century would be adopted.

President Kiro Gligorov signed an important document in New York on behalf of the Republic of Macedonia—the UNICEF Declaration.

Today, President Kiro Gligorov organized a reception and lunch for the representatives of migration organizations from Macedonia in the United States.

## Kosovo

### Ministry Arrests 'Self-Appointed' Defense Minister

*AU0110212293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 1 Oct 93*

[Text] Since 23 September, in connection with a number of measures on uncovering and halting activities by initiators and proponents of the terrorist organization of Albanian extremists aimed at preparing for an armed rebellion, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has arrested more than 30 members of the illegal Defense Ministry of the so-called republic of Kosovo. Due to the founded suspicion that they committed the criminal act of preparing for an armed rebellion, criminal reports have been filed against Hajzer Hajzeraj, self-appointed defense minister of the republic of Kosovo; Zaim Berisa, self-appointed chief of the General Staff; Ejup Dragaj, self-appointed assistant minister for defense preparations; and several other people.

The identified persons, it is said in the announcement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, had been working since the middle of 1992 on forming a Defense Ministry and organizing military formations on Kosovo-Metohija, following the orders of the illegal government of Albanian secessionists. According to what has been learned to date, war plans have been made and a blueprint has been drawn up on organizing military formations from a company to corps and brigades, to which officers have also been appointed to to some extent. Military draftees have also been registered. Contracts have been made abroad on obtaining and storing armament and military equipment and organizing various forms of military training in Kosovo-Metohija, as well as some countries extending help to Kosovo Albanian secessionists.

In this action performed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, large quantities of weapons, ammunition, explosives, and subversion-propaganda material have been confiscated. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia is carrying out further measures and activities in cooperation with judicial organs, about which the public will be shortly informed.